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# ***JPRS Report—***

# **Soviet Union**

## ***Political Affairs***

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# Soviet Union

## Political Affairs

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## CONTENTS

28 December 1990

### NATIONAL PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

- CPSU Democratic, Marxist Platforms Define Positions [PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN No 20, Oct 90] ..... 1

### REPUBLIC PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

#### RSFSR

RSFSR Politburo Member on 500 Days Program [G. Zyuganov; RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA, 11 Nov 90]	5
RSFSR Draft Constitution 'Unacceptable' [Yu. Slobodkin; SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, 13 Nov 90]	8
Constitutional Commission Work Criticized [S. Glotov; SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, 13 Nov 90]	11
Report on RSFSR CP Plenum Proceedings [SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, 16 Nov 90]	11
17 November Supreme Soviet Proceedings [SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, 18 Nov 90]	12

#### Western Republics

Conflicts Between Belorussian People's Front, Communist Party [M. Tkachev; SOYUZ No 43, Oct 90]	20
Belorussian Presidium Agenda Published [SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA, 4 Nov 90]	22
Sokolov Views Moves To 'Depoliticize' KGB, MVD With Suspicion [Ye. Ye. Sokolov; SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA, 7 Nov 90]	23
'Anticomunist' Ideology of Belorussian Popular Front Assailed [V. Treshchev; SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA, 11 Nov 90]	26
Agenda Set for 31st Belorussian CP Congress [SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA, 14 Nov 90]	27
Proposal for Future Ukrainian Government Structure [O.H. Bilorus, et al; LITERATURNA UKRAYINA, 11 Oct 90]	28
Ukrainian Republican Party Head Interviewed [L. Lukyanenko; SOVETSKIY PATRIOT, 15-21 Oct 90]	33
Ukrainian Supreme Soviet's Plyushch on Previous Parliamentary Session [I.S. Plyushch; LITERATURNA UKRAYINA, 25 Oct 90]	35
Drach's Opening Speech to Rukh Congress [I. Drach; KULTURA I ZHYTTYA, 28 Oct 90]	38
Ukraine Official Favors 'Common New Rules' [V.B. Grinev; KOMSOMOLSKOYE ZNAMYA, 30 Oct 90]	44

#### Transcaucasus

Armenian CP Resistance to Depolitization [I. Verdiyan; SOVETSKAYA KULTURA No 46, 17 Nov 90]	47
Handling, Allocation of Armenian Quake Recovery Funds Criticized [G. Karapetyan; TRUD, 11 Nov 90]	48
Azeri Election Official Interviewed [M.Ya. Kaznev; BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY, 11 Nov 90]	51
Georgian National Congress Meets 29 Oct [MOLODEZH GRUZII, 2 Nov 90]	53
Gamsakhurdia Interviewed After Election [Z. Gamsakhurdia; MOLODEZH GRUZII, 2 Nov 90]	54
Georgian National Congress on Current Role [I. Khaindrava; ZARYA VOSTOKA, 10 Nov 90]	56

#### Central Asia

Nationalist Berdibayev on Kazakh Sovereignty, Self-Assertion [R. Berdibayev; SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN, 30 Sep 90]	58
--	----

**MEDIA AND JOURNALISM**

RSFSR Moves Toward Independent Media [V. Logunov; ARGUMENTY I FAKTY No 46, Nov 90] .....	62
Belorussian Union of Journalists Holds Congress .....	63
Union Criticized for Inaction [V. Glod, Ye. Gorelik; SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA, 24 Oct 90] .....	63
Appeals to Government for Support [SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA, 24 Oct 90] .....	65
Press Reporting Censured in Moldova [E. Kondratov; IZVESTIYA, 7 Nov 90] .....	66

**SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ISSUES**

Census Data on Changes in Nationality Composition [SOYUZ No 44, Nov 90] .....	68
USSR Population Statistics by Republics, Capitals for 1989 [VESTNIK STATISTIKI No 10, Oct 90] ...	72
USSR Population Forecast from 1990-2015 [VESTNIK STATISTIKI No 10, Oct 90] .....	76
Decree Implementing RSFSR Law on Religion [SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, 10 Nov 90] .....	80
Commentary on Patriarch Aleksiy's Visit to St Sofia [LITERATURNA UKRAYINA, 1 Nov 90] .....	81
Rukh Demonstration Against Patriarch Aleksiy Deplored [M. Derimov; PRAVDA UKRAINY, 7 Nov 90] .....	82

**CPSU Democratic, Marxist Platforms Define Positions**

91UN0372A Moscow PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN  
in Russian No 20, Oct 90 (signed to press  
19 Oct 90) pp 8-11

[Press conference at the CPSU Central Committee: "Having Forgotten Their Discords: Timely and Important Dialogues"]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee Press Center was the site of a meeting between the representatives of two platforms within the CPSU and Soviet and foreign journalists. Speaking in the name of the Democratic Platform (communist-reformers) were the following persons: S. Sheboldayev, people's deputy of the RSFSR and the Mossovet [Moscow City Council]; and V. Bezuglov, senior scientific staff associate of the USSR Academy of Sciences Bio-organic Chemistry Institute. The Marxist Platform was represented by the following members of the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee: A. Kolganov, senior scientific associate, MGU [Moscow State University] imeni M. V. Lomonosov; and A. Kryuchkov, leading scientific staff associate of the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] VNII [All-Union Scientific Research Institute]. Published below are fragments from the stenographic report of this press conference.

**Why They Turned Out To Be Together**

[A. Kryuchkov] We have been compelled to combine our forces by our common concern for the state of affairs in the society and in the party, as well as by the strengthening of the conservative forces and the liquidationist attitudes in the CPSU, and by the increase of anti-communist attitudes. On 17 November of this year we plan to hold a conference for the purpose of forming a democratic communist movement.

[V. Bezuglov] As well as to work out an integrated position and unified tactics for operating during the forthcoming period.

[A. Kolganov] That portion of the Democratic Platform which has remained within the CPSU and the Marxist Platform are striving to make up for that shortcoming which has previously been inherent to the Communist Party—its aspiration to hold a complete monopoly on the truth, including that within the framework of socialist ideology. We are striving to become movements which are more open to dialogue with various socialist trends in our country. Beginning this past summer intensive talks have been held with such leftist political movements as the Socialist Party, the Confederation of Anarcho-Syndicalists, some of the representatives of the Green Movement, and certain representatives of the Russian Social-Democratic Party. Initial steps have been taken toward creating a movement of leftist or left-wing forces in the USSR.

As to the Marxist Platform, we are striving to activate contacts with leftist movements and, above all, that

trend which is close to us not only in our country but also abroad. In particular, representatives of the Marxist Platform recently completed a trip to Bulgaria, where contacts were established with the Marxist Alternative Movement in the Bulgarian Socialist Party; and a document was signed providing for cooperation.

**What Separates Them**

[S. Sheboldayev] We communist-reformers within the Democratic Platform consider the following: there is no need nowadays to over-emphasize the role to be played by Marxist ideology. The latter remains very important for us, but it is not the only component of our world outlook.

[V. Bezuglov] Yes, we remain communists. But, as we understand it, communism is a specific type of development, based on commonly held, human values, a harmonious combination of progress and justice, ensuring the free self-realization of the individual personality. And, let me emphasize, the factor of a certain difference from the Marxist Platform lies in the fact that we approach the economy and the implementation of the transition or conversion to a market-type economy not with ideological criteria but rather from the viewpoint of social needs. In this case, we do not struggle to make sure that the economy corresponds to certain specific, previously worked-out, ideological criteria.

[A. Kryuchkov] It must be taken into account that the Marxist Platform arose at a time when the Democratic Platform existed without any very clearly expressed trends within it. At that stage, it seems to me, there really were substantial differences in many views with those of the Democratic Platform. For example, with those of its leaders Shostakovskiy, Lysenko, and Chubays. As to our contacts with the section or faction of the communist-reformers, here the situation could be somewhat different. Why? Because if we take the question of democratizing the party and the society, as posed by its section of communist-reformers and as posed by us, then, it seems to me, we have a great deal in common here.

But if we touch upon questions of socioeconomic policy, here we should not yet be in too much of a hurry to make value judgements. Why? Because we, it seems to me, have not yet fundamentally discussed these problems. We should immediately proceed to analyze them in depth. This could take place within the process of working out the documents with which we will move to the 17 November conference; or it could occur directly at the conference itself.

[A. Kolganov] The following question was posed here: are we communists or social-democrats? And what kinds of prospects do we see for the communist movement?

No, we are not social-democrats, although we do consider that the communist movement is not some kind of closed sect which was built on certain principles that were handed down as fixed and immutable once and for all. We consider that the communist movement as a

contemporary political trend must be open; it must assimilate the experience of all the left-wing socialist and, in general, the entire left-wing, democratic and political movement throughout the world. Nor do we have any prejudice against the positive experience of the social-democrats or any other socialist movements.

At the same time we remain communists because for us the future, whether socialist or communist, is not merely a set of ethical principles, but also a certain new social structure or system at which we will arrive. However, our view on this social system differs quite sharply from that which was previously put forth under the name of Marxism-Leninism.

#### **How They Regard the Principle of Democratic Centralism**

[V. Bezgulov] At the very beginning, when we were organizing the Democratic Platform, we advocated the decisive abolition of this principle in the activity of the CPSU. As an alternative, we proposed the term "Democratic Unity." This principle, based on the fact that rights are delegated from the bottom up, from the primary party organizations, which are completely independent in adopting their own decisions, in determining what kinds of methods they use, and how they are to conduct their work in a certain region or enterprise where they are operating. Moreover, we proceed on the assumption that the decisions of the party's executive organs must be in the nature of recommendation or coordination. The real decisions should be taken solely at party forums—congresses or conferences.

We took our point of departure from the fact that we need to maintain the maximum freedom of activity for each party member and so that, under rapidly changing conditions, the party can react to changing situations dynamically and very quickly. While maintaining the principle of democratic centralism, this is impossible because it takes a great deal of time to coordinate the decisions while the information is passing from the bottom upward and the decisions are filtering down from above. And the situation, as happens so frequently, gets out of control. As a result, the party organization proves to be utterly powerless and, in practical terms, does not react to acutely important factors.

[A. Kolganov] We need to react much more effectively to the events that are taking place. We need to eliminate the chronic delays and lateness of party decisions vis-a-vis the requirements of social development.

We consider as basically correct those fundamental guidelines which constituted the basis of the decisions taken by the 28th CPSU Congress. At the same time, however, we posit that there is also too much diffuseness in these guidelines, too much vagueness, which causes a lack of confidence, a passivity and vacillation in carrying out party policy. And it is this that we consider which must be changed.

[A. Kryuchkov] I would like to remark that we have have definite differences of opinion with the Democratic Platform with regard to the principle of democratic centralism, something which the party really has not applied as such. We consider that it has applied a completely different principle—that of bureaucratic centralism, whereby democracy, as the most important component of the given principle, has been virtually inoperative. And it is this aspect of the matter which certainly must be emphasized and strengthened.

One of the most serious problems in implementing this principle, it seems to us, is to legitimize the right of the minority to defend its own viewpoint even after a decision has been arrived at—something which used to be, in fact, forbidden. This is one of our most fundamental positions.

We also consider that the minority should have the right to express its own viewpoint when uniting with others by platforms, not only during the course of the discussion, but even apart from the discussion. We further consider that strengthening the democratic aspect of the organization in the party's activity presupposes the necessity of electing persons to party congresses by platforms and by party districts on the basis of direct, equal, and secret balloting.

The rights of the minority likewise include the guaranteed representation of platforms in the electoral party organs. Some people call upon us to abandon this principle; they say that its application would be conducive to a situation whereby party organizations would be strengthened in production facilities. But that is precisely what we are striving to achieve. In Bulgaria we heard many, many opinions to the effect that liquidation of party organizations at the place of employment and abolition of the rayon-level unit had led to a situation whereby the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] had turned out to be split up to a great extent, incapable of functioning in a consolidated fashion. This was also true by virtue of the fact that the vertical ties had been disrupted, and the horizontal ones had also been weakened to a considerable degree.

[S. Sheboldayev] Anatoliy Viktorovich Kryuchkov has already gotten out ahead of me, and all I can do is concur in that treatment of the basic organizational principle in the party which he has presented here, i.e., the principle of protecting the right of the minority to its own viewpoint.

[V. Bezuglov] I would like to add that concern for the fate and survival of the leftist movement in our country and its capacity to effectively oppose both the anti-communist and neo-conservative forces has led us to the necessity of founding a unified or integrated association of various left-wing parties. In my opinion, the parties and movements which are included in the bloc or common movement which we have formed have the determination to wage an active struggle against the

anti-communist attitudes. And I assume that consolidation of the left wing is capable, in a certain fashion, of stabilizing the situation.

Here I would like to remark in passing that, strictly speaking, we do not yet have a normally functioning Communist Party, and we are faced with the imminent task of creating it. And we want, when carrying out this work of founding an up-to-date political party with a left-wing orientation, to place into its foundation those principles which would once and for all put an end to dividing up communists into rank-and-file and non-rank-and-file, and which would make it a capable, militant organization. And then the question of who specifically is to head up the party, who is to occupy this or that post would not be so vitally essential.

[A. Kolganov] Concerning the prospects for forming some kind of leftist front or movement with the participation of the CPSU, it has already been mentioned here that there is a natural striving to consolidate forces on the left flank of the political spectrum. And, at the same time, it has been emphasized that the CPSU, as we see it, is not yet such a party as we would like to see it become. This also defines the problems of forming a union or alliance of leftist forces with the participation of the CPSU.

#### **Are They Striving for Power Within the CPSU? How Do They React to Anti-Communism? Do They Intend To Form a National Front?**

[S. Sheboldayev] Anti-Communism nowadays has assumed the characteristic features of bare-faced shamelessness; I cannot choose any other word for it. The emergence of the most diverse types of fronts—ranging from a united front of working people to inter-fronts—is a symbol of civil warfare. Nowadays it assumes the form of such confrontational movements as those mentioned above. In my opinion, this is the most dangerous thing that could occur at the present time.

Our task is not to set ourselves such a specific goal as coming to power. We would like to see power—particularly that within the Communist Party—“taken” by its so-called rank-and-file members. The rank-and-file communist, the party mass—I am using expressions which have become common and ordinary for us, expressions which have not only wandered about like nomads among the mass media, but have also become very firmly entrenched in our consciousness. These days, to my way of thinking, the epithet “rank-and-file” should be abolished, and a communist as such ought to have the right to express his own viewpoint, to participate in adopting decisions and in nominating various candidates, including himself, to any leadership level, including those within our party structures. I would like to say the same thing about the party mass. It is time to abandon this concept and to speak simply about the importance of the majority in the party, about the fact that its opinion should also be taken into consideration.

But this should not be the majority of party functionaries, as has been the case up to the present time.

Our trends in the party, by advocating further democratization and reformation of the CPSU, are also attempting to bring about a liquidation of that lack of trust and confidence which exists between the communist movement and other left-wing movements in our country. We are striving to play the role, if I may so express it, of a transition bridge between the Communist Party and other left-wing socialist forces.

[A. Kryuchkov] With regard to the matter of forming an anti-communist bloc, we must bear in mind, first of all, that what is being created is not only an anti-communist bloc, but also an anti-soviet bloc. What do I have in mind? Take, for example, the meeting which occurred on 15 June. It was held not only under such slogans as “Down with the CPSU!”, “Communism Is the Plague of the 20th Century”, and “Communism Is the AIDS of the 20th Century”, but there were also slogans directed against the Soviet regime or power. Appearing with them was the rather notorious Novodvorskaya, who advanced her own set of slogans, one of the most eloquent of which was “Down with the Existing State Structure.” There were slogans with analogous contents among other demonstrators as well. There was a recent report to the following effect: a draft Constitution of the Russian Federative Republic is being prepared. We see there neither the term “Soviet” nor the term “Socialist.”

According to the viewpoint of G.Kh. Popov, we should elect a somewhat different system of governmental administration: a president, governors, and elders. That is to say, he almost unambiguously gives us to understand that the Soviet regime is not the kind of structure which is capable of solving the problem of governing our society. All this provides me personally with grounds for considering that we need to discuss not only the anti-communist bloc, but also the anti-soviet bloc, which is gathering force.

#### **About Property Owned by the CPSU and a Unified Name for Both Platforms**

[S. Sheboldayev] We need to make a precise and above-board inventory of party property. And, based on this inventory, we should make a restitution, a compensation of those funds and assets which were squandered by the Soviet regime during the time of its “oppression” by the party structures.

And there is a second issue pertaining to our association with the Marxists. I would like to specify again quite clearly that what we are talking about is not a formal merger of these two platforms. We think that our differences will remain. But what we are talking about is the process of finding common points of view, a certain common platform which could permit us to consolidate a large number of communists in these positions. I assume that this is a part of a general civil process of unification, and, although I am not appearing here as an

official representative of the movement known as "Democratic Russia," I would like to mention that I am a participant in it. And it has declared itself to be a movement which is attempting to consolidate on its own foundation many newly emergent, democratic-leaning organizations.

[V. Bezuglov] We deem it to be an ethical and moral duty for communists to use party funds for the purpose of supporting, first of all, those persons who suffered from the Stalinist repressions and from the subsequent period of lawlessness, as well as the victims of the war in Afghanistan and the catastrophe at Chernobyl. We consider that a portion of the party funds should be earmarked for supporting culture, education, health care, and for ecological programs. All the more so if party funds are not to lie around like dead weight, but rather are to participate in circulation and bringing in revenue, then it is completely possible to organize special funds which would be monitored by rank-and-file party members. These latter would be directly delegated by the party organizations in order to make sure that no abuses are allowed in utilizing these party funds.

As to our association or unification, we consider the following: within the party it is necessary to maintain the maximum of pluralism, and, therefore, we are attempting to keep our movement as independent within the party. But, at the same time, we consider that the Marxist and Democratic platforms, the conference of secretaries and other movements within a unified bloc are not only useful but necessary for achieving the goal of radically democratizing and restructuring the party.

[A. Kryuchkov] Our position coincides, to a large extent, with what was outlined by Comrade Sheboldayev. When we addressed a request to our own party to provide us with the most elementary conditions for operating, to allocate a modest-sized room, to set up a typewriter there and a simple computer, they took two months to seek out funds in order to satisfy our most modest requests. But the result was that they could not do so, and this causes us not only amazement but also indignation.

#### **Do People in the Localities Know About the Existence of These Platforms?**

[A. Kolganov] Our ties with the party organizations of plans, factories, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes have a longer history than do our ties abroad. Those modest-sized groups and small party clubs which stood at the springs of the Marxist Platform from the very beginning had

close ties with the primary party organizations at educational institutions, institutes, and plants.

Our movement includes persons in various social positions. If, at first, their ties were limited to a narrow group of activists, after our documents were published in the newspaper MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA and later in PRAVDA, their contacts with party organizations at enterprises became sharply more active. There was a period when our coordinating council every day or even several times a day appeared and spoke at various enterprises, took part in discussions, and shared their ideas with representatives of the primary party organizations. We have contacts with the party organizations of dozens of cities in the Soviet Union. And so we are not a purely upper-echelon movement.

I could add that the sociological polls which were conducted in party organizations provided extremely diverse figures with regard to the followers of the Marxist Platform. It seems clear that this is connected with the degree of information. The figures varied from 2.5 percent to 10, 12, and sometimes to 18 percent; but, to my way of thinking, a more precise degree of our influence was reflected in the poll of the delegates to the Constituent Congress of the RSFSR Communist Party, where five percent of the delegates declared themselves to be followers or advocates of the Marxist Platform. Some 25 percent stated that they partially support the positions of the Marxist Platform.

[A. Kryuchkov] We are against fixing the membership of our movement, and we are struggling not to increase the number of its functionaries, but rather to increase the number of its followers. Most of all, we rely and place our hopes on our followers in the localities, followers which we have not only in city party organizations, but also in rural ones.

[S. Sheboldayev] Unfortunately, nowadays we are clearly conducting this work insufficiently. And, indeed, people simply do not know about us; this is particularly true in peripheral areas. Here, of course, it is a question of utilizing the mass media; but, to a large extent, it is also a matter of our own activism and the possibility of establishing ties with the structures in the localities. In this regard, we are placing great hopes on the forthcoming conference.

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(CPSU Central Committee Press Center)**

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## RSFSR

### RSFSR Politburo Member on 500 Days Program

91UN0296A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA  
in Russian 11 Nov 90 pp 1-2

[Interview with Gennadiy Zyuganov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the RSFSR Communist Party, by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given: "Whose Side We Russian Communists Are On"]

[Text] [Correspondent] The draft "Guidelines of the Activity of the RSFSR Communist Party" was published recently. How does this document differ from the draft action program that was studied by the constituent congress?

[Zyuganov] In my view, the draft "Guidelines of the Activity of the RSFSR Communist Party" responds more sharply to the latest happenings and is future-oriented. I would highlight the following key points.

First, the document clearly expresses the will of the Communists and the absolute majority of working people of the republic to prevent the country's further slide toward a new social catastrophe and direct perestroika into the channel of creation. And the Communists are prepared to cooperate here with all who wish people well and who intend in practice to contribute to the progress of our fatherland.

Second, the draft declares that the Communists of the Russian Federation support the unity of the USSR. Only a heartless person could view with indifference how the squall of separatism is destroying our common home. Only in a united and renewed Union will we be strong, free, and sovereign.

Third, it is clear to everyone who is familiar with the document that we emphatically support the ideas of a fundamental renovation of economic relations. But we see as the purpose of reform not the "shadow" operators, profiteers, the corrupt and thieves of all stripes being able to build up their capital, but a better life for the honest worker and his family. For this reason the draft cites as the Communists' principal task a stabilization of the economic situation in the republic, transition to a controlled market on the basis of socialist choice and the consolidation of socialist justice. As far as our attitude toward property is concerned, we support its denationalization and a multistucture economy. In other words, our aims in this respect coincide with the president's program of an improvement in the situation in the country and the radical reforming of the economy adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Fourth, the draft says frankly that the Communists are disturbed at the growing commercialization of culture and the extensive onslaught of aspirituality against the social and, particularly, youth consciousness. The RSFSR Communist Party intends to define its policy in

the spiritual sphere, orienting itself toward the priority development of science, culture, and education.

And fifth and finally, this document maps out a number of specific steps aimed at accomplishing the democratization of party life in practice. These measures connected with the assurance in the RSFSR Communist Party of the power of the party masses, openness, democratism, and attention to man will enable it to acquire a modern appearance attractive to the working people and the youth.

I believe that the published document has helped to break up to a certain extent the atmosphere of mistrust that had become established around the RSFSR CP Central Committee. After all, many Communists were prejudiced against it initially also.

Visiting the most varied auditoriums, in the work force particularly, I notice how the shroud of blindness is gradually falling away. People like the clarity of our positions, the absence of intolerance, the humanism, benevolence, orientation toward the working man, and the aim of creation and consolidation. A healthy, constructive response to our draft is being manifested increasingly in many local party organizations, which are using it as a basis for their own work plans with regard to the specific situation. This is for us extremely important for, after all, the Communists in the primary organizations and the work force can answer the question as to how far our document corresponds to the cherished aspirations of the people. And only following additional work, with regard for their opinions, will an enlarged plenum of the RSFSR CP Central Committee and Central Control Commission have its final say.

[Correspondent] As you know, the Russian parliament has adopted the 500 days program; you, however, support the president's program. Does this mean that in relation to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation Communists will be in opposition?

[Zyuganov] I would not put it that categorically. There is no insurmountable wall between these two documents, they have much in common. And if the president's program has not met with understanding in the Russian parliament, not profound differences in the strategy of transition to the market but, I believe, purely political reasons and a desire of the republic leadership to insure itself against possible failures, in order, if necessary, to heap the blame onto the Union leadership, are to blame for this.

The RSFSR CP Central Committee is for a sober, critical approach to this question or the other of the tactics of transition to the market. However, we intend to emphatically support the republic Supreme Soviet in those of its undertakings that are objectively geared to people's benefit. It is necessary to find any points of contact for our positions. And, particularly, in all that concerns the social protection of the working people.

At one meeting I was handed a note requesting an answer to the question: "Who in Russia will be living well if the radicals are victorious?"

Well, on the top line I would put the underground millionaires from the ranks of the present thieves and profiteers. They would get the "gold medal." The "silver," evidently, would go to corrupt officials from the machinery of state because without them the mafia families could not exist; they need to be fattened up in order that they remain obedient. Such changes do not, with a few exceptions, promise a better life for people working in the spiritual sphere: Where pragmatism triumphs, the spirit is silent. And, finally, workers, collective farm members, servicemen. Their situation is difficult even today. But it is hardly their concerns that are at the heart of those who are pushing the country toward a return to the bourgeois past. The lowest story of the social ladder are retirees, who have, as they themselves bitterly joke, only an illustrious biography and an empty purse....

In short, the fewer the opportunities a person has to invest capital in an expansion of reproduction, the poorer he will be. Whoever says otherwise is either being sly or is cruelly deceived.

[Correspondent] And the party apparatus?

[Zyuganov] This will depend on the party to which the apparatus belongs and who finances it. If big business, the income of such a party and, consequently, the wages of its apparatus will be quite high. There are already examples of such. Newspapers and weeklies, say, that are financed by moneybags are even today paying their employees two-five times more than the earnings of party journalists. Understandably, the Communist Party cannot look for the sponsorship of the nouveaux riches and will have to manage with the savings from dues and publishing and its own entrepreneurial activity (some people would like to take even this away from us, it is true).

[Correspondent] V.I. Lenin called the years of the party's deviation the NEP [New Economic Plan] period. Does not an analogy between the 1920's and the 1990's suggest itself?

[Zyuganov] An unfortunate analogy, I believe. At the time of the NEP, political power belonged undividedly to the Bolshevik Party and the Bolshevik soviets, and it was a mixed economy. In the Russian Federation today, on the other hand, political power is in a number of instances with noncommunist soviets, but the economy is socialist, in the main, albeit with serious deformations. In a word, a picture the direct opposite of that of the NEP.

If there, indeed, are features in common, they amount to the fact that this is an active superstructure. As then, so now also the political authorities are "pulling" the economic basis of society after them, attempting by way of the issuance of decrees to change it and achieve the

programmed goal. And at once, what is more, in a matter of days! Perhaps the present year also will go down in history as a "year of the great change."... After all, it was repeated over and over in 1929, as now also, that we would either cover this path in a few years or we would be crushed, there was no other way.

Today one hears the same tone: there is no alternative, at once or it is the end. Neither then nor now has the opinion of the people been solicited, but people are acting on their behalf. Everything has been thought out and everything decided for them. Politicking adventurers are simply free to do as they please!

[Correspondent] The tension in relations between the Communist Party and the "democrats" is not diminishing. But people are watching this struggle and do not understand what the argument is about: You are for democratization and the market, they also; you are for privatization, they also.... How would you comment on the essence of your differences?

[Zyuganov] If you look into it, there are considerable disagreements. Take the question of ownership. We advocate a diversity of forms, given preservation of the priority of collective ownership. For our opponents, however, the main thing is privatization, that is, the transfer or sale of everything that belongs to the state into private ownership. This does not mean that we reject the latter. There is nothing wrong in someone owning a small workshop, hairdresser's, or cafe. Large-scale industrial associations, plants and factories, and construction projects are quite another matter. Surely it is clear who would buy them?

And take land. The creation of nature, it should, like the air, belong to everyone. But even this is not the point. Under conditions where immense shadow capital has been accumulated, it could instantly become a tidbit and desired object of a contract of sale. Why? The underground millionaires would not risk their money acquiring wholesale, for example, those same unprofitable enterprises. It is easy to get burned and go bankrupt given a lack of experience and special knowledge. Land, on the other hand, if leased or profitably resold, would provide a guaranteed income. The stolen capital would not only be legalized, but doubled and tripled here, although its owner had invested no labor in it.

Our ancestors who drafted back in August 1917 the Peasant Mandate to the Constituent Assembly recorded as its first clause: **private ownership of the land is abolished forever**. I would once again print this mandate in all newspapers—word for word—in order that people might read it and think about it. Our grandfathers were not, surely, such duffers; it is our present defenders of private property who are too sharp.

Or take such a proposal of the "democratic" parties and movements as the removal from the name of our republic of the words "Soviet" and "Socialist." In proposing such versions they have not given themselves the trouble of explaining to the people how it will be possible

to combine the slogans "All Power to the Soviets" and "Down With the Soviets." While proposing to clear away from practice all that is connected with socialism, they are as yet hesitant to proclaim "Long Live Capitalism!" While high-handedly advocating the supremacy of republic over all-Union laws, they are keeping quiet about the fact that this is a path that will lead the Soviet Union to disintegration. And, consequently, to exceedingly difficult consequences both for the country's economy as a whole and for the fate of millions and millions of families of "nonindigenous" nationalities living in the republics. I would recall that 60 million persons live outside their national formations, including 25 million Russians outside the RSFSR. These consequences could for all of them prove a total disaster.

It all now depends on the times and on the position of the people: Will they allow the authors of the new slogans to turn the country onto the capitalist path or not. Much will depend on us Communists and also on our courage and honesty....

I believe that no one will succeed in canceling out the October choice. However difficult, the people will understand for what this party or the other and their leaders are calling and will have their say.

[Correspondent] Some people believe that the Communist Party has not repented of all its sins and is totalitarian by nature and that, therefore, it is unfit to participate in the building of a democratic state based on the rule of law.

[Zyuganov] I would like to mention that no one is currently saying more than the party itself about its mistakes, past and present. We are with painful difficulty tearing away from ourselves the scab of bureaucratism, conceit, and incompetence and not sparing our leaders either. Just look at how keenly the party press is opposing the abuses of office on the part of certain party officials, members of the Central Committee included. This trend—a cleansing of the party ranks—is a fact, not a mirage. And just look at how scrupulously and impartially the reports and elections—from meetings in the primary party organizations through party congresses—are being conducted. Who other than the Communists and delegates are increasingly confidently taking control of the party's destiny? Where, if not here, is the power of the party masses being felt increasingly palpably?

But now let us take a look at how things stand in regard to democracy with our ideological opponents. Have you encountered in the "radical left" press even one critical attack on those whom it has entered on the calendar of saints of our times? Hardly. A continuous stream of eulogy, praise, and unction!

Just try criticizing one of them or simply voicing disagreement with their views. There crashes down in a flash such an avalanche of stones and dirt that subsequently, if you manage to crawl out from beneath it, your own mother would not recognize you! As far as I know, RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA has experienced this. Where,

then, please, is the pluralism of those who so respectfully magnify themselves as democrats?

Read again closely the draft guidelines of the activity of the RSFSR Communist Party, and you will see for yourself that the Communists by no means lay claim to a monopoly of their ideology. Surely life itself and its reflection on the television screens, on radio, and in the newspapers are proof of this today? In addition, we have essentially wound down our propaganda. Yet this is wrong: Any person should have an opportunity to freely acquaint himself with the entire wealth of socialist thought. And he would then see for himself that communist ideals are not the invention of a handful of revolutionaries, but values common to all mankind that have been arduously arrived at by the whole history of civilization. And it is completely wrong to deride the ideas of Marx and Lenin today merely because they were so flagrantly distorted in the attempts at their realization in social practice! But some people are already threatening, including in the Russian Federation, both bans on and the persecution of Communists for their views, beliefs, and party membership. We are opposed to any discrimination against people, including on political grounds.

[Correspondent] Words that are involuntarily associated with the civil rights movement are heard in what you say, as also in the draft guidelines of the activity of the RSFSR Communist Party. What is your attitude toward the draft Russian Constitution that is currently being elaborated in the RSFSR Supreme Soviet?

[Zyuganov] I am familiar with it. Those who have read it agree that this is a draft of a constitution of a state of a monarchical type, where the persons who have grabbed the means of production will command, and a dictator would by his power bestow his blessing on all this. A mortal danger looms over genuine democracy! Only thorough public discussion of the draft could spare all of us a new disaster. More, we intend as soon as possible to present an initiative on the elaboration of a concept of civil rights activity in the republic. We are prepared to cooperate actively with those who quite recently even were sparing neither their forces nor health nor their physical freedom in defending human rights.

But there is one thing I simply cannot understand. In the 1960's- 1970's, when it was a question of the defense of the rights of dozens, hundreds of people, our rights defenders were truly heard by the whole world, and they set all bells ringing. But now, when the count of the downtrodden, insulted, beaten and wounded, and those deprived of shelter, work, savings, and dear ones and friends and their lesser homeland has reached hundreds of thousands, a little bell rarely tinkles! Where are they, these rights defenders, why are they keeping quiet and not attempting to halt the escalation of violence, which has already engendered 600,000 refugees?!

We cannot fail to see how some political forces are fanning the bonfire of hatred and intolerance, sparks from which could shower forth (and in places are already

doing so!) in deadly rain on our bitter land. Russia's Communists are opposed to this orgy of irresponsibility and unbridled politicking, opposed to the riot of nationalist passions and crime, opposed to the immorality. We want Soviet people to live tranquilly and be confident of the future.

### **RSFSR Draft Constitution 'Unacceptable'**

*91UN0277A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA  
in Russian 13 Nov 90 Second Edition p 2*

[Article by Yu. Slobodkin, RSFSR people's deputy, chairman of the Solnechnyy City People's Court, candidate of legal sciences, under the rubric "On the Draft of the New Constitution of the Republic": "A Hymn to Unconsciousness—Critical Notes by a Member of the Constitutional Commission"]

[Text] I beg the readers' pardon beforehand but I must begin with a fairly long quote which is most directly related to the subject of our discussion. Here it is:

"I think that it is necessary to have a complete break with old Soviet terminology. The name Russian Federation should in no way remind one of its 'Soviet' or 'socialist' character. The legislative organ should not be called the 'Supreme Soviet' but the 'Parliament' or 'Duma' or any other name which is appropriate. All territorial associations of the Federation, government organs, and so forth should be approached similarly. It seems to me that we should pay attention not only to Soviet terminology but also to old tsarist terminology: To what extent do you want the symbols of the new democratic Russia to resemble the traditional ones?"

This admonition, called a "memorandum," was delivered by Columbia University (United States) Professor A. Rapashinski to O.G. Rumyantsev, secretary of the Constitutional Commission created at the First RSFSR Congress of People's Deputies who is at the same time the leader of the Social Democratic Party of Russia.

Judging from everything, the "working group" formed from members of the Constitutional Commission and volunteer experts was very enthusiastic about the admonition from across the ocean and fully justified the hopes placed in it. In the voluminous draft of the basic law, which amounts to more than 60 pages of text typed in small letters, the terms "Soviet," "soviet," "socialism," and "socialism" are not used a single time, and it is suggested that henceforth our republic be called the Russian Federation (RF).

It would not be an exaggeration to say that the draft is a unique hymn to unconsciousness, which is typical of Mankurts [fictional character with no past or future] who do not know what the connection between times and historical continuity are. One can see only too clearly the political-ideological direction and social orientation toward certain forces in our society which are actually in favor of replacing one ideology with another.

It seems to me that the version which has right-wing forces, which, however, loudly call themselves "leftists," taking advantage of all the means of ideological influence at their disposal, inflaming social passions in order to facilitate the adoption of the kind of constitution they need to achieve their goals is not without weighty substantiation.

I will discuss the fact that, in my view, this makes the draft constitution unacceptable as a whole. The first and main thing: This document by no means includes a creative and stabilizing force. It holds the destruction not only of the Soviet state but also of the statehood of Russia which we inherited after October 1917. For statehood is unthinkable without the extension of authority over a certain territory whose boundaries are determined by the external borders of the country.

Today the danger of the disintegration of the USSR is no longer the fruit of an excessively emotional imagination but a bitter and threatening reality which is recognized by everyone with any civic responsibility. But how is one to take the fact that the draft does not once (!) mention—incidentally, in spite of the Declaration of the State Sovereignty of the RSFSR—the fact that the latter is constitutionally and contractually a part of the USSR?! On the contrary, beginning with the preamble, it persistently and consistently introduces the idea that the Russian Federation is a virgin which gave birth to a state without a genealogy.

In all sections of the draft, constitutional norms are constructed in such a way that they do not simply manifest the "itch for separation" but affirm the idea that there is no such thing as the USSR as a state formation.

In order for it not to appear as if I do not know what I am talking about, I will quote Article 10 in the first section, which has the heading "The Russian Federation in Cooperation with Sovereign States": "The Russian Federation may voluntarily join with other states into a community or other union on the basis of an agreement. It delegates some of its rights to the community (union) in order for it to handle common affairs while retaining the right to control and participate in this. The sovereignty of the Russian Federation remains unshakeable. The Russian Federation retains the right to freely withdraw from the community (union)."

When a constitutional norm contains at its core a rule according to which the republic retains the "right to control" the community with respect to its delegated rights, this means that it is not delegating anything to anybody at all, since the control functions preclude the creation of organs of power and management that are common to the community.

It was not out of forgetfulness and/or innocence that the authors of the draft stubbornly resist any kind of mention of the USSR. You become completely convinced of this when you read the provisions that determine the competence of the Russian Federation. According to the

idea of the developers of the draft constitution, among other things, the following belong to the exclusive domain of the Russian Federation: currency, monetary circulation, emission of money; foreign policy and international relations; customs; control of borders and territorial waters; the adjoining economic zone and the continental shelf; federal transportation and communications; activity in space; federal energy systems; nuclear energy; fissionable materials, the production of arms, ammunition, toxic substances and narcotics and their sale; defense and armed forces, the security service, the federal police, and so forth.

If one does not pretend to be a simpleton who does not notice the obvious, only one conclusion can emerge from all that has been said above: The draft completely precludes the existence of Union-wide organs of power and administration, and the words to the effect that the Russian Federation "may" enter into some kind of community of sovereign states make no commitment with respect to the future of the USSR. It may join or it may not.

Is this not why the author of the article entitled "Russian Sovereignty: Symbols and Reality" (MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, No. 40), rapturously painting a picture of how today Russia is moving full steam ahead toward a new constitutional structure, which will give impetus for changes in other republics and will inevitably change the entire appearance of the Union, or of whatever it is to become, does not conceal his exultation about this?

But if one were to hypothetically say that the republic constitution would be adopted on the basis of the draft under consideration, the USSR would disappear from the political map of the world and in the place of the thousand-year-old Russia there would arise fragmented states and civil strife would become a common phenomenon, exhausting many of the peoples who populate the area and dooming them to a sad fate.

Another aspect. I do not think we are acting altogether correctly when, following the patterns that have become ingrained recently, with uncommon ease we throw out into the electrified public consciousness such words as "Russia" and "Russians."

In spite of the fact that I am risking accusations of being a "great power chauvinist," I consider it necessary to emphasize that the RSFSR (RF) and Russia are not comparable quantities and to place an equal sign between them means to take liberties with reality, with truth and the logic of life.

The peoples historically united under the roof of Russian statehood are not just the peoples currently living on the territory of the RSFSR. Strictly speaking, historically and geographically Russia is nothing other than a state-territorial formation defined by the present borders of the USSR. It is not surprising therefore that in the international legal lexicon no essential distinction is made between the concepts Russia and the USSR. This is quite natural if one takes into account the fact that a

Russian-speaking population of more than 60 million lives outside the RSFSR—in other Union republics between which borders are largely symbolic.

The uniqueness and unmatched value of our statehood, which spans an entire millennium if one casts off ideological and other stereotypes, consists in that not one of the Union republics has an ethnically homogeneous population.

Only people who want to split us up and enemies of the Soviet people can bewail our lost national sterility, since this is used to justify one of the most disgraceful manifestations of out and out nationalism which forces hundreds of thousands of people to abandon their homes, throw away their property, and become refugees.

In this connection I should like to note that the head of the Temporary Government of Russia, A.F. Kerenskiy, who is deeply respected by certain of our current politicians and legislators, did not accept the idea of the dismemberment of the post-February Russia, and he thought that on the level of constitutional structure it should be a strong federative state in which the current Union republics should be assigned the role of autonomous entities.

We have come a long way from that and thank God. But have we really allowed ourselves to give in completely to the nationalism and the separationist intoxication and on the eve of the third millennium will we break our country down into principalities and estates?

An attentive study of the sections of the draft that pertain to the federative structure leaves no doubt that they reproduce in camouflaged form the administrative-territorial division adopted in the United States. But there is also a difference since the future president of the Russian Federation, according to the draft, should have his "representatives" (governor generals, governors, prefects) in the national-territorial and regional formations, and he will be the only one who will have the right to appoint and replace them.

Since the draft says nothing about the authority of the aforementioned "representatives," one can assume that their functions will be outlined in a special law, with whose help the organs of power and administration of the national-territorial and regional formations will be able to take complete control of the "presidential deputies." The fact that these fears are now unfounded is shown in particular by the stubborn unwillingness of the authors of the draft to see and take note of the complicated processes related to the declaration by the highest legislative organs of power in the autonomous entities of their state-political and economic sovereignty in the USSR and the RSFSR. Without waiting for the adoption of a federative treaty, they have declared the priority of the law of the RSFSR over the legal acts of the organs of authority of the national-territorial and regional formations concerning issues that are within the jurisdiction of the federation.

In principle one can and should agree with such an approach to the division of the authority between the RSFSR and the subjects that form it. But the rule of the superiority of the laws of the USSR concerning strictly defined issues within its competence should apply equally with respect to the laws of the RSFSR.

When it comes to the sovereign rights of the Union republics and the USSR, very frequently people want to represent things in such a way that the Union republics "give up" part of their sovereignty in the interests of the center.

I think that all discussion of the rejection or diminution of the sovereignty of the Union republics, like the desire to call the Union-wide organs of power and administration the center, are directed toward justifying their own separatist impulses and are conditioned by the desire to affirm the "superiority" of their ambitions over the interests of the people.

Unfortunately, about this too one must say quite frankly that the leadership of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, relying on the support of right-wing radical forces who dream day and night about routing the CPSU and are against the creation of a situation of social and political stability and constructive cooperation, are constantly provoking confrontation and trying to place all of the responsibility for the economic and other problems on the Union authorities.

A couple of words about the republic leadership. The draft of the RSFSR Constitution submitted by the "working group" is oriented not simply toward the establishment of strong presidential power: It is oriented toward the establishment of a regime of personal power. Yes, they have eliminated from the initial developments the most odious points pertaining to the president's rights to appoint one-third of the deputies of the "Federal Council," to retire the government at his discretion, and to appoint the chairman of the republic supreme court without the knowledge of the legislative organ. The president's term of office was reduced to four years (instead of seven as was previously envisioned). Nonetheless the amount of his authority is such that the presidential rule has been transformed into the rule of one person.

According to the draft constitution, the president with the rights of "Supreme Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation," personally appoints and changes the high command of the Armed Forces (note that even the U.S. President does not have this right since he must obtain the consent of Congress in order to replace the highest military command); he declares a state of emergency; he gives orders for general mobilization and putting the Armed Forces on alert, the initiation of combat actions in the event of an attack on the Federation—with subsequent approval or confirmation of these measures by the legislature within three days; he hears reports from the government and gives it

mandatory recommendations; he returns laws the legislature has adopted to it for reconsideration and a final decision; he appoints federal judges and so forth and so on.

Thus just a brief list of certain areas of presidential authority included in the draft convincingly shows that the leadership of the republic Supreme Soviet holds openly separatist and Bonapartian positions.

If anyone thinks that I am too subjective and do not have sufficient justification for drawing your attention to the clearly drawn line toward the establishment of a regime of personal power in the RSFSR, I must say that the same opinion is held by the admirers of "strong personalities."

In the aforementioned article in MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI the author expresses satisfaction about the fact that from now on—in keeping with the "democratic" draft constitution—in the Russian Federation "two sources of the authority of power" must be established: the people and the president. Our ancient and recent history clearly shows what a danger a single person presents to our country as soon as he sits in the most comfortable chair that has been prepared for him and concentrates immense power in his hands. When the "source and the light" lie in one political figure or another, the other source of power, by which one means the people, quickly withers and suffocates, while personal authority grows with Bourbon force.

In keeping with the draft of the new RSFSR Constitution, which is openly antisocialist in nature, it is possible to have economic goods not only for private individuals and associations of them but also for the state, but the basis of the economy is declared to be the free entrepreneur with his enterprise.

There is not doubt that the draft constitution is designed so that soon after the adoption of the new Basic Law of the RSFSR in 1991 they can disband the RSFSR Congress of People's Deputies and curtail the authority of the executive and judicial authorities throughout the territory of the republic and organize new elections at all levels. This will cost the taxpayer approximately a billion rubles, but this does not bother the authorities who support this. They proceed from the understanding of the inevitable failure of the 500 days program that has been so loudly advertised, and when this happens they will keep the people obedient by relying on the reactionary provisions of the new Constitution.

This is apparently why the authors of the draft have also included a norm to the effect that the main principles of the Constitution may not be abolished. Thus they are trying to include in the Basic Law a norm which is intended to immortalize their idea of our social structure.

**Constitutional Commission Work Criticized**

*91UN0277B Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA  
in Russian 13 Nov 90 Second Edition p 2*

[Article by S. Glotov, RSFSR people's deputy, member of the Constitutional Commission, under the rubric "On the Draft of the New Constitution of the Republic": "So Who Took the Role of the Burial Squad"]

[Text] Krasnodar—I should like once again to draw the attention of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA readers to the meeting of the Council of the Republic of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet on 1 November. I had occasion to attend this meeting and to speak. I do not agree with the emphasis the TASS correspondents placed on the results of the discussion in their reports under the heading "In the Role of the Burial Squad."

As we know, at the meeting the chambers considered the draft of the new Constitution of the Russian Federation prepared by a working group and a group of experts of the Constitutional Commission, which was hastily introduced on the threshold of the RSFSR Congress of People's Deputies. At the very beginning of the discussion the deputies (and the legislative correspondents made no mention of this) worded the question more broadly: The development of the constitutional process in the RSFSR with a discussion of the principles of the new Constitution, and when and under what conditions it can be adopted. The overall result of the discussion, in my view, is that the draft that was submitted did not receive the support of the chamber, which the initiators of the discussion were probably counting on.

Yet from the words of the TASS correspondents one gets the impression that the Council of the Republic almost sided with the draft that was introduced and the deputies even entered into the role of "burial squad" for Soviet power. This, I repeat, is not what really happened. It is not because at least two-thirds of the 26 deputies who spoke were against the "burial" of Soviet statehood and did not participate in the "funeral march" at all. On the contrary, many of the deputies seriously disagreed with the developers and did not agree with the aspirations to break Soviet power. It did not follow from those speeches, however, that our statehood is not in need of serious reform.

People's deputies S.N. Baburin, I.V. Muravyev, A.S. Sokolov, and others spoke out in favor of extensive discussion, at the forthcoming RSFSR Congress of People's Deputies and among the republic's population, of the main principles of the new Constitution of Russia and the development of a new Basic Law of the republic on a competitive basis, and against monopolization of this work by a narrow group of individuals as, unfortunately, the working group did.

But if one is to speak about the "funeral march" which only a few RSFSR people's deputies tried to perform, including Ye.A. Ambartsumov and S.N. Yushenkov, who were named in the report, little came of this. So S.N.

Yushenkov read to those present in the chamber a thoroughly politicized, very unconvincing "lecture" about the fatal nature of the ideas of socialism and the need to bury it as quickly as possible. But this view was not accepted by the majority.

As was stated above, the majority of those who spoke were in favor of a extensive discussion of the principles of the Basic Law of Russia and the development of a draft Constitution on a competitive basis. But, in spite of the fact that a competition was as much as declared, and 38 drafts were registered with the Constitutional Commission, no ideas are being compared and no alternative variants are being considered. Yet among the drafts of the constitution that were submitted, it seems to me, there is original and highly professional work done by legal experts of the Saratov Law Institute, with the participation of other specialists. There seems to be much content to the variants of the constitution proposed by I.O. Malkov (Novosibirsk), N.V. Vinogradov (Kostroma), V.P. Kalin (Saratov), and other authors. Why do the public and even members of the Constitutional Commission not know about them? Who has discussed these drafts and where?

The Constitutional Commission has not dealt with this yet. Just as it has not dealt with the development of changes to the existing Russian Constitution, which was entrusted to the First RSFSR Congress of People's Deputies. And we will have to report to the congress on the fulfillment of this assignment.

It came through loud and clear at the meeting: It is necessary to prepare serious changes to the RSFSR Constitution that is currently in effect and adopt them at the congress. It is also necessary to comprehensively discuss the principles of the new Constitution in order to continue the work on its creation without excessive haste.

**Report on RSFSR CP Plenum Proceedings**

*91UN0308B Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA  
in Russian 16 Nov 90 Second Edition p 1*

[ "Information Report on proceedings of joint plenum of Communist Party of the RSFSR Central Committee and Central Control Commission"—SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA headline]

[Text] In accordance with a decision of the constituent congress, a joint enlarged plenum of the Communist Party of the RSFSR Central Committee and Central Control Commission was held on 15 November. First secretaries of republic, kray, and oblast party committees who are not members of the Communist Party Central Committee and Central Control Commission, communist people's deputies of the RSFSR, primary party organization secretaries, scientists, and employees of the party press and other mass media took part.

The plenum examined the following issues:

1. The current moment and the Guidelines of the Activity of the Communist Party of the RSFSR.

2. Structure of the Communist Party of the RSFSR Central Committee.

The report on the first item was delivered by I.K. Polozkov, first secretary of the Communist Party of the RSFSR Central Committee.

The plenum heard a report on the second item from A.N. Il'in, second secretary of the Central Committee.

The following took part in the debate: Yu.P. Belov, secretary of the Leningrad Obkom [Oblast Party Committee]; I.M. Boltovskiy, driver of the "Mosavtolegtrans" Association Taxi Pool; Yu.V. Petrov, secretary of the Tomsk Obkom; V.S. Lipitskiy, head of a department of the CPSU Central Committee Marxism-Leninism Institute; V.V. Kozlenkov, secretary of Kuybyshev's "Progress" Plant party committee; A.Ya. Nemtinov, secretary of the Moskovskiy Gorkom [City Party Committee]; N.S. Stolyarov, chairman of the Communist Party of the RSFSR Central Control Commission; I.S. Tsunayev, machine operator of the "Novaya zhizn" State Farm of Ryazan Oblast's Pronskiy Rayon; V.G. Dolgov, head of a department of Leningrad University; A.F. Chaykovskiy, member of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet; N.G. Bindyukov, dean of Novgorod University; O.I. Betin, first secretary of Tambov Oblast's Kotovskiy Gorkom; V.M. Tikhonenko, leader of a team of blacksmiths of the "Zavod Krasnodarselmash" Association; L.G. Kalinin, editor of the newspaper MOSKOVSKIY STROITEL; S.K. Mironov, first secretary of Astrakhan's Leninskiy Raykom; Yu.V. Bondarev, writer; L.N. Shepilova, secretary of the party committee of Moscow's "Parizhskaya komuna" Shoe Factory; V.Ya. Azarov, chairman of the Moscow Oblast Council of Veterans of War and Labor; V.F. Okhokhin, chairman of the Auditing Commission of the Kurgan Oblast party organization; V.A. Tyulkin, secretary of the party committee of Leningrad's "Avangard" Science-Production Association; V.V. Grishayev, head of a department of Krasnoyarsk University; V.N. Shilov, first secretary of the Amur Obkom; Yu.N. Yegorov, leader of a team of Moscow's "Skorost" Mechanical Engineering Plant; Zh.T. Toshchenko, director of the Sociological Studies Center of the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences; A.V. Zolotov, assistant professor at Nizhegorod University; and Yu.M. Protasenko, scientific associate of Leningrad's Radium Institute.

G.A. Zyuganov, secretary of the Communist Party of the RSFSR Central Committee, spoke on behalf of the Editorial Commission.

As instructed by the constituent congress and with regard for the discussion conducted in the party organizations and at the plenum, the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission approved the "Guidelines of the Activity of the Communist Party of the RSFSR." A comprehensive resolution was adopted on this item.

Standing commissions of the Central Committee were formed, and their composition approved.

The documents and material of the plenum will be published.

O.S. Shenin, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Yu.A. Prokofyev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo; and Yu.A. Manayevko and B.V. Gidashev, secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee, took part in the plenum.

### 17 November Supreme Soviet Proceedings

*91UN0322A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA  
in Russian 18 Nov 90 Second Edition pp 1-3*

[TASS parliamentary correspondents' report: "Difficult Path Toward Unity"; speeches by Anatoliy N. Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet; Aleksandr Grigoryevich Zhuravlev, chairman of the Problems of Price Setting Subcommission; deputy Yu. N. Afanasyev, and Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, at this session were published in the FBIS Daily Report: Soviet Union (FBIS-SOV-90-233) of 19 Nov 90 pp 29-32 and 43-48]

[Excerpts] The 17 November meeting of the USSR Supreme Soviet began with M.S. Gorbachev's speech. The president of the USSR set forth his program of the country's emergence from the crisis and the removal of what has become an obstacle in the way of radical reforms. His brief speech was a convincing response to those who the day before were voicing the opinion that M.S. Gorbachev's report lacked specific proposals aimed at an acceleration of the restructuring processes. Following M.S. Gorbachev's speech, certain deputies proposed that a break be called in order that they might reflect on what he had said. But the debate continued: The disconnection of our Union is the main disaster for the peoples of the country, Deputy V.G. Kucherenko, chairman of the Planning and Budget and Finance Commission of the USSR Supreme Soviet Council of the Union, said. Half or more of what we have lost is the result of this disconnection. According to the speaker, he had been disturbed and alerted by the speeches of certain representatives of the republics. Granted all his respect for their aspiration to sovereignty, this could not be approached solely from the standpoint of their own advantage. The speaker expressed confidence that were the Supreme Soviet to propose that the people have their say on the preservation of the Union, this would necessarily be supported. The commission chairman went on to speak about the problem associated with the existence of the government in its present form. Yes, he emphasized, its reorganization is necessary. But indiscriminate, constant calls for its resignation are a path leading to impasse. It is not currently a question of the government but of the fact that all structures of administration have been wrecked top to bottom. And whatever government we put in place, it will be no use until order has been

brought to bear in everything else. The deputy emphatically disagreed with the attack being made by certain forces on the president. The speaker emphasized that the majority of Supreme Soviet deputies has faith in M.S. Gorbachev and hopes to solve together the complex problems which the country has encountered. Stormy debate ensued apropos the course of further discussion of the agenda. Proposals that it be confined to speeches containing specific proposals from committees, commissions and groups and members of the editorial commission were submitted. There was mention of the need for the adoption of a decision prior to the president's overseas trip, and an end to the debate and the formulation of decisions was proposed.

There was an emotional interjection from Deputy S.F. Akhromeyev, who said: the president is going to sign a treaty on a reduction in armed forces in Europe. It has been 20 years in preparation. And we need, finally, to afford the president an opportunity here today to see that decisions have been adopted such as ensure that he may work productively in the next few days. The deputies adopted the chairman's proposal that the discussion of the order of business be terminated and that the debate continue. Noting that the present relations in the economy are being built according to the well-known "you play ball with me, I'll play ball with you" pattern, Deputy G.N. Podberezskiy called them very far removed from market relations. Calling them chaos would, according to him, be more precise. He proposed a step back in order only subsequently to take two steps forward, advocating an immediate return to compulsory government commission supplies. As the member of parliament saw it, up to 80 percent of products could be distributed in accordance with the government commission, while the remaining 20 percent, on the other hand, should be sold on the market. This measure is dictated by the fact that the old system has been wrecked, but a new one has yet to be created. As a result the country has been brought to its present condition. According to the estimates of the plant director from Belorussia, if everything remains as it is now, up to 50 percent of those working at his and other enterprises will have to be cut. And these people, he warned, will take to the streets. The speaker submitted a number of considerations in connection with the union treaty, which needs to be examined more quickly. In his opinion, it is important that the president of the USSR assume power ensuring that the head of state be not only listened to but also feared. Then there would be order, the deputy concluded....

Then Deputy V.A. Shekhtovtsov spoke on behalf of the Committee for the Work of the Soviets of People's Deputies and the Development of Administration and Self-Administration. He emphasized the need for the adoption of a union treaty and the acceleration of work on the USSR Constitution and supported the adoption of a decision on a fundamental transformation of the central executive authority. The head of the executive authority in the country is the president, consequently,

the USSR Council of Ministers is in its former composition headed by a chairman unnecessary at the present time. I see reefs here also, the speaker said. M.S. Gorbachev has proposed the establishment of the office of vice president. This should be done, in the speaker's opinion. But the Council of Ministers as presently constituted was confirmed at a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. If it is not now concluded that it is, for all that, necessary for leaders of the central offices of the executive authority of the president to be appointed or for candidates to be approved at a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the role of parliament in the shaping of the executive will be lost. This cannot be permitted. To restore the wrecked system of administration in the country it is essential, in the speaker's opinion, to impose a moratorium on all decisions which hamper the practical embodiment of laws of the USSR and the union republics, edicts of the president and ordinances of the executive authorities. The laws are not working for the added reason that at all levels of authority there is a complete absence of responsibility. Only one method—persuasion—is being employed with us as yet. No one is calling to mind the other—compulsion. Answerability and strict penalties in respect of those who fail to execute the laws are extremely necessary, the deputy emphasized. Arbitrariness is substituting for self-administration in a number of local soviets, he continued. The right of independence in deciding questions of one's jurisdiction has been replaced by the idea of sovereignty reduced to the absurd. And the main danger is that the financial sources, material resources and municipal property allocated by union law will not get to the local soviets unless the republics very quickly delineate the jurisdiction of the various levels of soviets.....

Deputy Yu.I. Borodin, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for the Protection of the People's Health, cited as a principal cause of the present chaos in the country the differing vision of our state itself at the present time and its future arrangement. There are two positions, the speaker said. The first is that our Union exists. The basis for this vision is not only the existence of formal attributes: a single government, law enforcement authorities and the army, but also the people's consciousness. Citing the opinion of the electorate and the members of the committee he heads, the speaker expressed the conviction that an absolute majority of people sees our Union as a federal state, however difficult its fate at the present time. And for this reason the union treaty should be signed as quickly as possible. We realize, naturally, the speaker continued, that today's Union, tomorrow's even more, is not that of 1922. We are well aware that states uniting in the Union will have their own sovereignty, but we would like to emphasize here that every sovereignty is to some extent relative. There are no states anywhere in the world whose sovereignty is absolute. And it is not a loss of sovereignty for a republic if particular aspects thereof are transferred to a common exchequer. Common sovereignty arises in this event. The speaker went on to emphasize that there was at the present time a great need to think very

attentively about what is needed not by a republic as a whole but man. He needs to live well, he needs order and the requisite quantity of medicines and food. It is far easier realizing all this within the framework of a union state than in each individual republic. On behalf of the committee the speaker supported the proposals expressed by the president.

Disagreement with one major lacuna in the president's program was expressed by Deputy V.I. Lisitskiy, director for production economics of the Black Sea Shipbuilding Yard. We are very different peoples and very different sovereign states even today, the speaker recalled, and at the same time we are united like Siamese twins: we have common monetary circulation, the most profound production specialization and the extensive cooperation of regions which are most remote from one another. The nodes of this unity are the labor collectives. These islets of order and organization, these nodes of the all-union market, cannot wait for the reform ultimately to afford an opportunity for them to work freely and, what is most important, in the new manner. The speaker is convinced that the critical state of society is determined mainly by the extraordinary narrowness of the social bases and the vapid beginning to the transitional processes. The legislation in effect currently, he observed, does not contain a single method of settlement of the current contradictions, namely: the preservation and stabilization of business relations and the extensive application of contracted prices. As of the new year no one will any longer be in a position to help us, the speaker complained. The losses from maintaining the stability of unprofitable business relations will directly empty the pockets of the labor collectives. Why are all the questions which should have begun the transition processes being decided so slowly, the speaker inquired and continued: perestroika revived Lenin's slogan "The Plants to the Workers," but when will it start to be implemented? Strict supervision of the realization of the adopted decisions is essential, the speaker maintained. He expressed, inter alia, the proposal that the councils of ministers and supreme soviets of the USSR and the republics provide for the unconditional fulfillment of the decrees pertaining to economic reform which have already been adopted. The speaker sharply assailed the proposal concerning a suspension of the USSR Constitution, in which connection he announced that he was quitting the Inter-Regional Group....

Today's speech of the president of the USSR contains a sound basis for the extrication of the country from the crisis, Yu.Kh. Kalmykov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Legislative Committee, observed. The speaker considers the main issue the problem of the relations of the Union and the republics. The republics' declaration of the supremacy of their laws has led, in his view, to an impasse situation. Union laws are either not being complied with or are being complied with partially or a nihilistic attitude toward them is being displayed. It is this which has led to a war of laws. Orienting themselves toward their own declarations, certain republics

are essentially paralyzing the actions of the union parliament. Thinking about a way out of the situation, the deputy said that the vast majority of republics is for the creation of a renewed federation with, possibly, elements of a confederation. Developing this idea, the committee chairman expressed his thoughts about how further the relations of the Union and the republics should be organized. According to him, it is essential here to take as the basis the law on the delineation of authority of 26 April of this year. But since the conclusion of a union treaty will be long deferred, it is necessary to create a conciliation commission, having considered this law one more time. And if as a result it is possible reaching a common denominator, it should then be complied with unwaveringly. In the event of this republic or the other not complying, it will be necessary, the speaker believes, to apply the full force of presidential authority. This was why we introduced the institution of the presidency, he said. The speaker devoted part of his speech to the problem of bringing order to bear in the country. He proposed that the USSR KGB be instructed to support the struggle against economic sabotage, that the USSR Procuracy be strengthened immediately and that agreement be reached with the republics on the preservation of the collatoral subordination of the system of the procuracy, the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] and the KGB.

Approval of the proposals of M.S. Gorbachev was expressed by Deputy G.F. Lezhenko. He expressed confidence that the stabilization of the economy in the course of implementation of the stated measures would acquire the direction necessary for the country. In his view, the change of leadership on a state scale which had occurred had been a painful process. People who were theoretically and practically incompetent had come to power locally. In addition, many of them were guided by the directives and instructions of particular groups. Comrade Afanasyev, a doctor of sciences, professor and member of the Inter-Regional Group of deputies, has spoken just now, the tunneler at the Lenin Mine from Krivoy Rog went on to say. I, as a worker, look at this Inter-Regional Group—well, what children, to be honest. On the other hand, it is a force aggressively disposed against the system, the formation under which we have been living for 70 years. But this is, in general, a serious business. Why? If they are children, they need to be educated because these are difficult children. But if they are a force, a political evaluation needs to be made of it so that the people might know where they are leading us. The deputy expressed concern at the fact that behind the intensive law-making activity parliament had lost sight of such an important matter as fulfillment of the instructions of the electorate—this real popular program of the activity of soviets of any level. Concerning the subject of sovereignty, the speaker proposed a suspension in the republics of the legislative instruments adopted on this score until the conclusion of a union treaty. The Union is, in his opinion, a single living organism. Despite individual complaints, the people are unwilling to sever the established ties. Rely on the

people, the representative of the Ukraine appealed to M.S. Gorbachev, and they will help you. It is necessary to urgently make an analysis of what is happening in the country, Deputy N.A. Kryuchenkova said. As a representative of the Public Education and Training Committee, she devoted her speech to problems connected with the preparation of future generations. There is a fire in the country, the teacher from Tambov Oblast observed. And when such a thing happens, it is not only buildings and belongings which are rescued but the children who are brought out first and foremost. This evocative comparison afforded her an opportunity to conclude that we are as yet displaying insufficient concern for the future. The statements of leaders of the union republics that some of them do not intend participating in the elaboration of the union treaty have been heard here, the speaker continued. Stop, think about it! After all, there is no guarantee that your republic will never want to return to the Union, but it would then be necessary to join it on terms determined by others. Laws are being enacted in the union republics currently which restrict study of Russian. Yet the official language of the Union is a most important all-state function. In the deputy's opinion, public education cannot be considered a nonproduction sphere. It produces what is most important—man. And at a time of transition to the market it should be remembered that constant replenishment of knowledge is an essential condition of survival.

Deputy S.G. Lushchikov, who represents the "For Constructive Interaction" group, emphasized that in proclaiming his program the president of the USSR was giving himself tremendous responsibility. Because he has little time for the embodiment of practicable constructive structural changes and personnel shuffles. What the president of the country has managed to do and how the Supreme Soviet has helped him here will be analyzed, evidently, at the Congress of People's Deputies. Speaking of the new structures of presidential power, the speaker emphasized that the deputies should render assistance in a qualitative improvement in the presidential edicts in order that these be strong instruments of response. As he believes, the country would greet with approval all joint efforts of the president and parliament aimed at ensuring discipline and order and the fight against crime. The deputy advocated the speediest appointment of a chief state arbiter and prosecutor general of the USSR. He proposed that the next Congress of People's Deputies receive the report of the Constitutional Oversight Committee and declared that the Supreme Soviet should discuss the possibility of the adoption of a moratorium on mass meetings, strikes and a variety of demonstrations for the purpose of stabilization of the situation. Deputy N.M. Piryazeva received the president's program with satisfaction. But, to be honest, she said, I am not euphoric—all its clauses will be very difficult to implement. This, the deputy believes, is connected with the state of interaction between the union and Russian parliaments and relations between M.S. Gorbachev and B.N. Yeltsin. On behalf of her

electorate she called on the two leaders to take decisive steps toward mutual understanding.

Supporting the conceptual propositions set forth in the president's speech, Deputy N.S. Sazonov advocated the Supreme Soviet's active participation in its implementation. He went on to say that with regard for the declarations adopted in the union and autonomous republics the union parliament cannot fail to revise its functions as the highest legislative authority. It is necessary in this connection to form additional working groups under the auspices of the president of the USSR. The speaker took issue with those who believe that the laws enacted by the Supreme Soviet in the past 18 months are not working. In his opinion, had it not been for the Property Act, for example, the workforce of his own Kama Truck Plant could not have become a joint-stock company. This applies to the Land Act also—30,000 tenant farms have been created in the country merely in the short space of time since its adoption. The deputy proposed an end to the process of, in his words, blind privatization which has begun in the country until a body monitoring the administration of state property has been formed under the auspices of the Supreme Soviet.

Reminding those assembled of their main duty—observance of the union rights of our citizens—Deputy A.A. Denisov broached problems of sovereignization. Sovereignization, he emphasized, implies with us, owing to our uncouthness, a one-sided acquisition of rights. In fact, however, this process, like democratization of any kind, implies a balance of rights, duties and responsibility. Unfortunately, this is not immediately recognized with us either in the sphere of democratization or in the sphere of sovereignization. It is no accident that some of the brightest sovereigns have already perceived the burden of responsibility for the rights which they have arrogated to themselves. And this is a normal course of events. But it would be useful to first forecast such a course of events, not seesaw from side to side after the fact. Sovereignization with us has become an out-and-out holiday. But it should be remembered that we cannot have a holiday every day. We have, after all, some time to get down to business. But we have become carried away and have forgotten that the people need to be fed also. I mean fed. Because we have not accorded them an opportunity to feed themselves. The speaker observed that the superstructure should correspond to the economic basis. Having forgotten about this completely, we are attempting to impose on an economy controlled in authoritarian manner a democratic form. It is untenable and unfounded. And the new authorities are perceiving this. They are dumping everything on the center, it is true. The center, on something else, and it is, in turn, accusing them of incompetence. The speaker sees the main contradiction as lying between the form of democratic administration and the economic basis which we have here. In the West governments are spared concerns about daily bread, and they can be changed, as the speaker put it, daily. Production carries on as if

nothing had happened. There is economic freedom, which we lack. For this reason the speaker supported the proposals which had been expressed earlier concerning limitations on democracy to some extent within the framework of constitutional provisions. The country is in a state of emergency. And the form of administration of the country should be appropriate to this state. In the speaker's opinion, it is necessary to conclude an inter-public agreement on ecological conduct in the Union more rapidly, prior to the union treaty.

The question of the session's order of business arose once again before the break. Some deputies proposed termination of the debate, separation into committees and commissions and work on the formulation of proposals to be presented to the editorial commission. Others insisted on continuation of the discussion of acute problems. It was decided by vote to continue the debate. Problems connected with the national-state arrangement derive from the problems which have come about in the base spheres of the life of society, Deputy V.I. Karasev, head of a department of the Kramatorsk Industrial Institute, observed. The detail that a revolutionary turnabout has been accomplished has bypassed the mass public consciousness, the speaker emphasized. Prior to perestroika, the CPSU Central Committee Politburo was in fact a combination of all functions of state power in society. Since the alteration of the USSR Constitution the subject of state power has been what it should always have been—organs of state power and administration delegated by the people. Analyzing this proposition, the speaker mentioned two contradictions which, in his opinion, largely explain the current situation. Whereas in 1985 it was essential for the survivability of the very idea of perestroika for the leadership of the country to rely primarily on glasnost and the direct pressure of the people on all structures of power, this subsequently led to a contradiction, the speaker reasoned. The opinion has taken shape in people's minds, he continued, that it is today possible to raise the living standard simultaneously of everyone and for all time. But there has been utter disregard for something else: a country which is barely emerging is not in a position today to solve all these problems immediately for everyone and simultaneously. And this contradiction is intensifying, assuming various forms, social, religious, national and state included. The second contradiction which has arisen in the course of perestroika—the speaker attributed this in full to himself personally also—has taken shape between the need for modernization and change in the systems of state power and the incompetence and lack of professionalism of the people who have embarked on the accomplishment of these tasks. It is necessary to not only worthily but also skillfully represent in parliament the interests of one's electorate—such was the conclusion drawn by the speaker. In conclusion he called on everyone to support today the president and the leadership of the country, which have undertaken to ensure wise political leadership, at the center of which the subject of power is the people.

Speaking on behalf of the "Soyuz" group of deputies, Deputy V.I. Alksnis also spoke in support of the president's program and the program of special measures. The speaker additionally proposed inclusion on the list of priority measures of the following: it is essential, he said, at the Fourth Congress to unblock the activity of the Constitutional Oversight Committee, declare a moratorium on the republics' enactment of laws conflicting with the USSR Constitution and pay particular attention to the work of the union system of the MVD. The deputy believes that it has now been destroyed almost. The USSR Supreme Soviet's urgent enactment of a law on the KGB, the militia and the army is needed to support the president's program. From the speaker's viewpoint, some aspects of M.S. Gorbachev's speech remained unclear. For example, on what principles will the Federation Council work? The idea of the transfer of all executive authority to the president is understandable, but how will it be realized locally? And in what way, for all that, will conflict situations with the republics be resolved? While expressing, in the main, the collective opinion of the "Soyuz" group, the speaker deemed it necessary to express to the president his personal opinion also. I and all my electorate, he said, are prepared to support all your actions aimed at preservation of the Union and a strengthening of our state power. But your credit of trust is exhausted, you have 30 days left. Unless there has by the Fourth Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR been a fundamental turnabout in terms of action, the question of the USSR presidency will obviously be decided. This is not a threat, the speaker explained, for, after all, we deputies also are responsible to the country, and we have to do something also. We are prepared on this path to render you the maximum support. I am astounded how freely the concepts "sovereignty," "union treaty" and "state" are used at times, Deputy Yu.Ye. Burykh said. He gave the reminder that the USSR Constitution, from which it is necessary to proceed today in all decisions, is in effect in the country. This document should be observed unswervingly. The speaker rejected the attacks on the Inter-Regional Group of deputies which had been heard in the meeting hall. We, the chief of the Gorlovka Chemical Plant Technical Department, observed, have gone to extremes, as a result of which the people's interests have been left on the sidelines. It is time to call a halt, he said. The member of parliament observed that the Supreme Soviet has particular responsibility. Yet its activity has not in fact been analyzed here, whereas there is a multitude of shortcomings in the work of the chambers and the committees. It is not only a question of the president and the government but of we ourselves, the speaker observed. He put forward specific proposals which, in his view, could rectify the situation. It is necessary to implement emergency measures for the distribution and movement of food and put on the agenda of the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR the question of revisions to the country's constitution in connection with the adoption in the union republics of declarations on sovereignty and the program of measures announced by the president. In addition, in his view, it is

essential to study in the Supreme Soviet the question of the work of the chambers and also recommend that the republic supreme soviets conduct meetings with the participation of USSR people's deputies which would discuss questions of compliance with the country's constitution and laws.

Why are our laws not operating? This was the question, addressed to the hall, with which Deputy Z.G. Balayan began his speech. In his view, a mechanism which would make it possible to implement this decision or the other has yet to be devised. In confirmation of this he adduced certain examples. Specifically, attention was called to the situation connected with the blocking of railroads, which continues, despite all the assurances, declarations and statements. LITERATURNAYA GAZETA's correspondent in the Armenian SSR called the members of parliament's attention to what is happening in Nagornyy Karabakh. According to him, the situation there is not improving. He adduced specific instances of an exacerbation of the situation in this "flash point" of the country. Appealing to the USSR president and Supreme Soviet, the speaker called for the adoption, finally, of effective measures for restoring order. Deputy Yu.A. Ryzhkov, its chairman, spoke on behalf of the USSR Supreme Soviet Science Committee. The committee members, he said, recognize that the formation of the community today should begin with horizontal, primarily economic, relations of the national-territorial formations. At the same time, on the other hand, however the complex process of this formation takes shape, it should be borne in mind that there are spheres of activity which will sooner or later be a subject of common concern. The committee members put among these also concern for the fate of research, basic particularly. In this difficult period, the speaker continued, the creation of a common, democratically administered fund for the financing and support of basic natural and humanitarian sciences preserving a contemporary level of development is essential. Otherwise the basis of the development of any normal society could be gradually lost.

In the opinion of Deputy N.K. Kozyrev, only the authorities which enjoy authority based on a stainless moral reputation can run the country. In this connection the speaker believes that we in the country have a big problem, which consists of the corrupted nature of power. Our reforms have already run aground, and they have been run aground by the extant party appointees, who have survived very well since Stalin's serfdom times. The speaker took issue with the deputies who were proposing a temporary ban on all parties, the CPSU included. This idea is, even if radical, naive and reactionary, he said. After all, parties are a hindrance at difficult times not to democrats but dictators and tyrants. Parties are most important structures of a democratic civil society, without which it degenerates into a one-dimensional crowd. It would be far more important depriving the party schedule of appointments of its sociopolitical status and its base support.

The concept of the country's extrication from the crisis submitted by the president of the USSR could be left hanging if we become unduly preoccupied merely with a reorganization of the structures of power and relegate to the background the stabilization of the economic situation, Deputy L.V. Afanasyeva emphasized. The most acute issue now is food. It is a matter of indifference to many people what the power in the country is. They no longer have faith in the president, the government or the Supreme Soviet. But if processes which improve supply and life itself begin even now, the situation will change. It is necessary to conduct country-wide a food audit and draw up an action program to provide each person with the necessary minimum of food and basic necessities. This work should be performed within a strictly designated timeframe, with specification of the persons responsible. In the difficult period in which the country has found itself it is necessary, in the deputy's opinion, to cease overseas exports of food and merchandise and bring order to bear at the customs. The country is still being granted credit, but how it is being distributed and where it is going, no one knows. The question of currency distribution should be a separate item on the list of radical measures. Analyzing the activity of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the deputy observed that parliament does not always study the reasons why laws do not work. She also proposed the imposition of a moratorium on mass meetings and strikes.

Evaluating the state of the country as critical in all spheres, the Ecology Committee believes that in the set of all the destructive factors an appreciable part is being played by environmental problems, Deputy Yu.N. Shcherbak declared. He cited first and foremost such global catastrophes as the Chernobyl and Aral disasters, the situation in the Southern Urals, on the Volga, in Kazakhstan and the Dneprovsko-Donetsk industrial region and other local environmental disasters, which are influencing the fate of millions of people and causing a deterioration in their state of health. Ecological factors are beginning to play an ever growing part in social and national conflicts. The committee believes that the USSR president and the government, despite the unequivocal decisions of the USSR Supreme Soviet, have not done everything necessary for an improvement in the ecological situation. A national ecological safety council has yet to be created in the country. The government is accusing environmentalists of the mindless and irresponsible blocking of industrial facilities, although it is itself in violation of the law, demanding the continuation of the activity of enterprises which are doing irreparable damage to the health of the present and future generations. The speaker made a whole number of proposals. Specifically, an immediate start on discussion of the question of a change in the role and structures of the USSR Supreme Soviet and an intensification of its monitoring functions with respect to the actions of the president and all state formations. And deprivation of the government of the present superpower monopoly authority and the creation of new interstate coordinating bodies with regard for the sovereign rights of the union

republics. At the most difficult moments I always turn to Pushkin, Deputy D.N. Kugultinov said and quoted the passage from "Boris Godunov" where a character says that we are strong not by the army but popular opinion. Unfortunately, the speaker observed, this hall does not appeal all that often to the opinion of the people, which elected its representatives to the Supreme Soviet. It is mistaken to believe that in positioning the men and making moves, as in a game of chess, parliament can win this great battle of history. Things are far more complex, and for this reason today's speech of the president's has evoked such a positive response among the deputies. Since it spoke about that fact that an offensive is beginning not in word but in deed against what is becoming an obstacle to our great movement. And we should not forget when speaking about the empty store counters what we have been given by the 5 years of perestroika, which has, first and foremost, made us people, the poet emphasized. We have acquired glasnost and democracy—great weapons of the struggle for public happiness, the speaker continued. But will we know now to avail ourselves of them? When it is a question of power, we need unfailingly to bear this in mind and think about the peoples, about the state, about man. In this connection the speaker criticized the propositions which had been heard in the debate to the effect that the union republics should be the masters not only of territory but of peoples also. He also called for the cooperation of the deputies of the Russian and union parliaments elected on USSR territory.

I came here because I saw that the Supreme Soviet was awakening, Deputy E.G. Kozin said. He observed that a complete political and legal vacuum and paralysis of power was being observed at the lower level. Because there is no law delineating the authority of the soviets of various levels, it is impossible for the executive authority locally to adopt decisions because they are being sabotaged. The speaker emphasized that it is essential to examine questions of the modernization of the entire system of power of the people in the form of the soviets. A law on depoliticization of the army, the KGB, the MVD, the courts and the procuracy is needed also, and the depoliticization of public education is also essential, in his opinion. The speaker declared that he was dissatisfied with the work of the USSR Supreme Soviet, which, he believes, is characterized by estrangement from real life, legal, economic and political incompetence, the cliched thinking of certain deputies and the presence of good-luck wedding generals, who are not in attendance even at this meeting. The most important thing now is legislatively regulating the confederation of states which is taking shape, convening the Congress in emergency session, examining questions concerning a suspension of the USSR Constitution and discussing the new union treaty. The organizational restructurings about which the president spoke are essential. I believe that the Supreme Soviet and its Presidium are failing to cope with their duties and that the union government should resign. In addition, representing the interests of the electorate, I propose the resignation of Comrades Yazov and

Kryuchkov for insincerity and the untruth expressed in connection with certain events, the speaker declared.

Requesting a few minutes' time, Deputy V.G. Ardashba said that in connection with the communication of the first deputy chairman of the Republic of Georgia Supreme Soviet to the effect that the republic would not sign a union treaty and that a new Georgian law would establish a transitional period en route to the establishment of full independence, he believed it necessary to make a statement. Proceeding from the fact that each people has the natural right to freedom and independence, we treat the decision of the Republic of Georgia Supreme Soviet with due respect. At the same time this means that the Abkhaz people have the right to decide their fate. Abkhazia's position is expressed in the Declaration on the State Sovereignty of the Abkhaz SSR and in the decree of the Abkhaz SSR Supreme Soviet. These documents have been declared illegal by the Georgian Supreme Soviet Presidium. The position of Abkhazia, which from 1921 through 1931 was a Soviet socialist republic and was forcibly transformed into an autonomous republic within the Georgian SSR, is that under the conditions of the conclusion of a new union treaty Abkhazia, as a republic which formed the USSR and as a subject of the Soviet federation, should on an equal footing with the other subjects of the USSR be a part of the negotiations and participate in the formulation and conclusion of a union treaty, the speaker emphasized. With the strengthening of sovereignty, Deputy M.S. Minasbekyan observed, the responsibility of democratically elected leaders of the republics for people's fate is growing. The center's task is to afford them an opportunity to operate effectively. To this end the principle of the centralized distribution of the necessary minimum of vitally important resources, proceeding from a calculation of per capita consumption, should be preserved for the transition period, the speaker believes. We must not allow some people, he emphasized, availing themselves of the calamitous position of the people, to get rich undeservingly. The principles of fairness, the speaker declared, demand that in the transitional period no one suffer more than others. And this could happen, in his opinion, for the starting positions are as of this moment different—we cannot speak of the equal opportunities of regions which have suffered from natural disasters or the Chernobyl catastrophe and relatively prosperous regions. The trend toward collapse of the union market has been disastrous for us, and there should be no illusions on this score, the speaker said. It is essential, he is convinced, to create for the transition period an economic committee which would incorporate representatives of the republics and other national-territorial formations. The decisions of this body should be binding on all, the deputy observed. Any deviation, blockades all the more, should, according to him, be cut short with the full rigor of the law. For a real strengthening of power functions it is essential that the union Supreme Soviet establish close interaction with the parliaments of the republics and create a body which facilitates the coordination of their efforts.

At the proposal of A.I. Lukyanov, presiding, the deputies decided the issue of the convening of the Fourth Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR. The Supreme Soviet adopted a decree on the convening thereof on 17 December 1990 in Moscow. This was followed by a number of rejoinders from the deputies, mainly of a polemical nature, and a statement of not inconsiderable importance delivered by Deputy A.G. Chekhoyev. Yesterday's speech by the representative of Georgia, he said, has evoked serious concern in our South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast. In this connection, the speaker continued, we people's deputies of the USSR and representatives of official bodies of South Ossetia, relying on the opinion of the vast majority of our electorate, are empowered to declare the following: "The population of South Ossetia emphatically protests the declaration of the representative of the supreme authority of Georgia at yesterday's meeting of the USSR Supreme Soviet session on the impossibility of the Georgian Government's signing a new union treaty and, in fact, on Georgia's anticipated secession from the USSR and change of political system in the republic." "The people of South Ossetia emphasize once again that it is only thanks to Soviet power and the USSR that the Ossetian people have been able not only to preserve but also secure the further development of their language, national culture and science. "In this connection the people of South Ossetia declare with all certainty their socialist orientation and their desire to live henceforward in a single family of peoples of the USSR. If the Republic of Georgia adopts a decision on withdrawal from the USSR, we request that the USSR Supreme Soviet and the president of the USSR support our constitutional right to self-determination and decide the issue of our direct inclusion within the USSR as a subject of the federation."

Commenting on today's speech by President M.S. Gorbachev, which, in his opinion, indicates that the president has great inner potential, Deputy A.M. Shamikhin proposed on behalf of the trade unions that the measures which were put forward be supported and that they be considered emergency measures. He expressed a number of recommendations to the president, calling upon him to remain "undivided". In turn, the speaker deemed with all certainty unacceptable the positions expressed by the representatives of a number of republics whom he called "gentlemen". Unfortunately, the speaker observed, a restoration of the old bourgeois practices, a return of their property to its former owners and the establishment of Pinochet-type totalitarian regimes are under way in these republics currently. The deputy made a negative characterization of the actions of the democrats in Latvia, who, in his opinion, are concerned for their personal interests and are infringing the rights of almost 1 million inhabitants of the republic. From the same standpoints the speaker evaluated certain pronouncements on democracy of Deputy A.A. Sobchak, who urged a ban on party activity. The speaker put forward proposals concerning a suspension of republic laws conflicting with union laws and a ban on all organizations and movements whose actions are leading

to an increase in interethnic discord and also the disbandment of all illegal armed formations. We have throughout today, Deputy Yu.K. Sharipov said, been attempting to present our vision of what the president expressed in eight points. Many members of the Supreme Soviet have received with satisfaction the decision to abolish the Presidential Council. This will do away with the diarchy which has been observed in the country. To speak about law and order specifically, a special office under the president which would combat organized crime, the shadow economy and profiteering should operate at the level of the modern special services which civilized countries have. The speaker proposed that the signing of a union treaty not be deferred because many republics have supported it even today. The others need to be treated as other states. In the economic respect primarily. In conclusion the speaker said that it was essential to enhance the role of the union budget and supervision of this budget. The question of the creation of a committee of state supervision of the expenditure of monies which would operate not occasionally but systematically is urgent.

Deputy A.Ye. Sebentsov declared that he would like to speak "on behalf of his own common sense" on the subject of the state and democracy. He recalled that a state emerges when society is in need of a force incorporating an army, prisons, courts and such to afford it an opportunity for normal development. If there is no state, there is no democracy either. For this reason the state should provide for the action of the laws and the circulatory system, which money is. Our state, the speaker concluded, is failing to cope with these tasks, as a result of which we have "leukemia". Democracy should be connected with the "power of the pursestrings," which the Supreme Soviet must have. We take money from the electorate, and its expenditure should be supervised. In the period of the activity of the present government the monetary system has conclusively collapsed, the speaker said. The clumsy attempts to restore it by ordinances of the Council of Ministers and edicts of the president are leading to this ailment becoming more serious. The deputy proposed that the government be required to render account, which, incidentally, in accordance with current standing orders, it should do annually. It is necessary also to limit the right accorded the president to issue enforceable enactments alone. Only instruments prepared by the Council of Ministers should reach the president, for signing. They would then acquire the force of law. The morning speech of the president and his initiatives reduced considerably the number of proposals which, as she said, M.B. Amanova, representative of the Council of the Union Labor, Prices and Social Policy Committee, had originally intended bringing to the podium. Stating this, she dwelt merely on certain aspects. One such was the problem of a rise in retail prices. In the opinion of the deputy and the commission, such actions must necessarily be preceded by comprehensive explanations on the part of the leadership of the USSR Council of Ministers. People should be entirely clear as to how the state intends compensating for these

measures. The speaker also supported the surmounting of confrontational trends in relations between the union and Russian parliaments and their close interaction. This cooperation is particularly important in instances where the highest legislative authorities of the Union and the RSFSR are discussing the same laws, she emphasized. The deputy advocated the establishment of working contacts between the supreme soviets of the USSR and the Russian Federation, at standing committee and commission level included. Determining the future of our Union, representatives of the parliaments of some republics have declared that a new union treaty will not be signed in their republics, the representatives of others, that such a treaty will be signed, Deputy V.P. Zolotukhin recalled. The speaker observed that both cases had one feature in common: time, called a transition period, is needed. And it would be right if for this period, the speaker said, all the republics were to adhere to the laws currently in force and the current union constitution. It is somewhat offensive to me, the deputy continued, that the future of the Union has been seen here mainly with respect to the center and Russia and that portfolios are already being parceled out, as it were, but account is not being taken here of the interests of the other union republics. Giving reasons for his thinking, the speaker observed that in 73 years of Soviet power the republics had become so closely connected with one another that disarticulating one of them and deciding all questions therein was simply impossible. All problems associated with the new union treaty should be resolved only together, the deputy said. He emphasized that the present meetings of the USSR Supreme Soviet were a serious test for the country's highest organ of state power. They will determine to what extent the Supreme Soviet is capable of assuming responsibility for the state of affairs in the country, not shifting it onto either the USSR Council of Ministers or the USSR president.

A report was delivered on behalf of the Editorial Commission by Deputy A.G. Zhuravlev, who presented a draft USSR Supreme Soviet decree on the situation in the country. He called attention to a number of contentious issues which had arisen in the work of the commission. Some of them it was proposed either minuting or recording in a special decree. The deputies then approved, in the main, proposals pertaining to a reforming and strengthening of the structures of state power submitted at the morning meeting by USSR President M.S. Gorbachev. Some 316 members of parliament voted in favor, and 19, against, and 31 abstained. An editorial commission formed by the USSR Supreme Soviet was instructed to complete work on the draft of the corresponding decree with regard for the proposals and observations expressed at meetings of the chambers and in the committees and commissions and to present it for consideration by the 23 November session.

## Western Republics

### Conflicts Between Belorussian People's Front, Communist Party

*91UN0279A Moscow SOYUZ in Russian  
No 43, Oct 90 p 9*

[Interview with Mikhail Tkachev, a leader of the Belorussian People's Front and doctor of historical sciences, by Aleksandr Shagun, SOYUZ correspondent in Minsk: "The Knight With a Sword Over the City"]

[Text] The Minsk gorsoviet has approved the Belorussian People's Front's idea of restoring the national-historical white, red, and white flag and the "Pursuit" emblem.

A SOYUZ correspondent speaks with a leader of the Belorussian People's Front, doctor of historical sciences, CPSU member Mikhail TKACHEV, on the awakening national consciousness of the Belorussians.

[Correspondent] Mikhail Aleksandrovich, I recall that the first time we met was in February of this year before the elections to the republic's Supreme Soviet. The public atmosphere at that time was boiling with political passions. Calls for a boycott and isolation of the People's Front resounded from various fora. All its representatives were labelled extremists. And as regards Belorussia's historical symbols, the white, red, and white flag and the "Pursuit" emblem, depicting a rider on horseback with a sword in his hand, it was categorized as nationalist and even fascist, since these banners were supposedly used in 1917-1920 by the bourgeois nationalists and German collaborators during the occupation. The sensible arguments of the other side were simply ignored. Yet even so you were full of optimism, asserting that the basic ideas of the Belorussian People's Front's [BNF] ideas—economic reform, proclamation of the republic's independence (sovereignty), state status of the Belorussian language, revelation of all the dirty secrets of the Chernobyl disaster—would soon be accepted by everyone, including those clearly hostile to the People's Front. A little over half a year has passed, and apparently the most unbelievable has happened: the historical Belorussian symbols have been recognized officially...

[Tkachev] And it could not be otherwise. The rider on a white horse depicted on our banners is not some kind of evil symbol, a sign of the BNF's aggressiveness. Belorussian troops fought and died under them, defending their land from German crusaders together with their Moscow and Smolensk brothers. Under this flag, our forefathers built their own national power: the great Lithuanian, Russian and Zhemoyd principality, in which the state language was old Belorussian. This flag stirred and continues to stir our national self-awareness, it calls forth an effort to protect and preserve our land. After all, today there hangs over our forests and valleys no lesser threat than, excuse the comparison, the Tatar-Mongol yoke on Rus: the Chernobyl catastrophe. For three years after it people slept under the sweet-dishonest speeches

of the bureaucracy. Who woke them up and led them to the fight? The People's Front.

We have led the Belorussians to a resurrection of their national spirituality, culture, school and language, without at all calling for separation from other peoples. Any sensible, unprejudiced person understands that now. But why did you not publish our conversation then, in February, which was a difficult time for the BNF? Were you afraid? Or did the editors of SOYUZ not want to "be associated" with national movements?

[Correspondent] Neither. I decided to compare two viewpoints, those of the BNF and the Belorussian CP Central Committee, on the reawakening of Belorussians' national self-awareness, on informal currents. I talked with the secretary of the Belorussian CP Central Committee for ideology, Valeriy Pechennikov. But he refused to answer the paper's questions, saying he was too busy. On the advice of Pechennikov's assistant, I went a step lower on the party hierarchy's ladder, to the head of the propaganda department, Arkadiy Rusetskiy. Having barely heard the topic, Rusetskiy blew up, started shouting, to the point where it seemed the phone would catch fire: "How can you come to me with such a question?! Do you not understand the situation? They (meaning the BNF leaders—A.Sh.) ignore us, throw mud at us, and you are suggesting holding a polite conversation with them!"

That was generally my dialogue with Rusetskiy. There were also attempts to discuss this topic with the leading ideologists of the Central Committee, but unfortunately the time was wasted.

[Tkachev] I sympathize with you. You were between two fires, as in the classic aphorism: when the "lords" fight, the peasant's skull gets cracked.

[Correspondent] Thanks for your understanding. But I am surprised by something else, Mikhail Aleksandrovich: How do you maintain yourself between two fires? On the one hand, you are one of the BNF's leaders, and on the other, a party member. The Belorussian CP Central Committee has stated that whoever joins the People's Front is expelled from the party.

And your colleague, chairman of the BNF soym Zenon Poznyak, is very critical of all communists, categorically refuses to give interviews to correspondents of the party press, and does not always behave correctly towards them. It is not surprising that journalists repay him in kind: rocks rain down on the leader like hail: malicious articles, pamphlets and statements.

[Tkachev] Well, first of all, we are not after all a barracks or a totalitarian organization, but a democratic people's movement. It states in the BNF's charter, adopted in April of last year at the congress in Vilnius, that each member of the people's front is free to decide for himself whether he should be in the CPSU or leave its ranks. No one has yet abolished this article. As to the attitude towards me, it is understandably ambiguous. Pressure

can be felt from the radicals who can be found in any public political movement, including ours. And figuratively speaking, at the last soym congress an empty bucket was placed on the stage and everyone with the strength to do so kicked it. I said: you are straining yourself for nothing, guys. The bucket is empty; everything was drunk from it during the years of suffering.

Have I not shared and defended the ideas and plans of the People's Front? Or have I betrayed anyone during the years of joint work? No one has suggested this. In fact, it is impossible to classify all communists without exception as rejected and leprosy. The rank and file party members guilty of nothing are one thing; the party bureaucracy, fearing the loss of its privileges like a fire, afraid of suddenly becoming unnecessary and useless, is another.

Of course, it would be simpler for me now to leave the party under the hail of criticism from my own people. But who would be left in it? Only conservatives. But they are already gaining in number each day.

With all the responsibility of a communist, I state that our Central Committee has an obsolete, rigid policy towards the national movement. Such political nihilism only irritates people and evokes an allergic reaction. National reconciliation, a "round table" of all social forces to renew the people and the nation, are needed like air. But young, fresh forces are needed in the Central Committee for this. A policy of agreement is required, it is necessary to join together for the main goal: to strengthen the republic's sovereignty and shift it to effective market relations.

[Correspondent] Mikhail Aleksandrovich, the readers of SOYUZ criticize the leaders of the Belorussian People's Front, and other similar movements in union republics, for attempting to split people up into ethnic apartments, to divide them from each other, to build walls, fences...

[Tkachev] If we put our own hut in order, as the Belorussians say, then we can look at what our neighbor is doing next door. Are the windows whole, is the door broken in? Believe me, my life's experience suggests that if there is order in the ethnic apartments then there will be order in the entire national house.

Our Council of Ministers Chairman Vyacheslav Kebich is very sympathetic towards me in this regard. In a situation when intra-national links are breaking down and not functioning, despite the threatening decrees of the President, Belorussia at his initiative has entered into a direct dialogue with Kazakhstan, the Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia. Long-term agreements on cooperation and mutual assistance have been signed with these republics. Russia is next. I have no doubt that these agreements will become a sort of buffer, softening the shock to the republic's economy during the transition period to a market.

By the way, the head of our government, a member of the Belorussian CP Central Committee Bureau, a person

who could not be suspected of sympathy for the ideas of the People's Front, at an extraordinary session of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet recently stated that if the Union treaty does not become reality by January 1 of next year Belorussia must go its own, independent way. With its own banks, taxation system and Belorussian money. And I have no doubt that the government will have to defend the idea of the republic's complete political and economic independence. After all, circumstances themselves require this. Lithuania and Latvia have already set up their own customs offices at the borders. The Ukraine is starting to do this. Judging from Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin's firm statements, Russia also does not intend to bear the "yoke" of national agencies and will do everything it can to defend its sovereignty. And it could not be otherwise. The "Vremya" program has already several times shown how train cars stand at the border in Brest for 4-6 months with imported industrial goods and food solely due to the disorder of the central agencies. At the same time, in Poland, at Bialystok, where thousands of Belorussians live, grain, potatoes and vegetables are being lost. Our fellow citizens are prepared to transport these products below cost or even free to the regions suffering from the Chernobyl disaster. But it is impossible to quickly resolve this trifling question: it must absolutely be agreed to by Moscow. And there, there are dozens, hundreds of barriers: one agency, a second, a fifth. While we talk and resolve, the vegetables have rotted or been fed to livestock.

Several years ago, the People's Front saw all these sores and abscesses of the rotting administrative system. After all, it was born not on a bare spot, but on the awakening national self-awareness of the Belorussians, and it gathered under its wing the flower of the Belorussian intelligentsia. The accumulation of this intellect has enabled us to work out variations on the republic's development two years in advance and to evaluate and weigh the tasks facing the nation.

For example, in the economic field we have suggested introducing private ownership of land and privatization of the means of production in addition to state and kolkhoz-cooperative ownership. And at this session of the republic parliament, the opposition proposed drafts of laws on Belorussian SSR banking and citizenship, moving ahead of the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers which still suffers from old concepts. Experience shows that no sovereign state can exist without a national bank, directly subordinate to the republic's Supreme Soviet, without independent commercial banks and market conditions.

The Supreme Soviet session did not adopt our project for privatization and the sale of land. Who voted against it? The party-kolkhoz lobby, representatives of the army of briefcase-carriers. Look at what happens, it is absurd. In the Belorussian countryside, there are 240,000 managers

of various types for 270,000 machine operators. Evidently, the same proportion as in the Union. With privatization, all this armada of managers will become unnecessary.

I am placing great hopes in the civic courage of my people, its traditional good sense, on mutual understanding among various forces. This will only occur when the party bureaucracy feels itself to be part of the people, not some sort of "armor-plated" layer.

That is why I never tire of asking: if we, Belorussians, and those recent and long-time residents of our ancient Slavic earth, do not agree and solve our problems, then why did we begin this perestroika?

### **Belorussian Presidium Agenda Published**

*91UN0288B Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA  
in Russian 4 Nov 90 p 1*

[Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Ukase: "On Convening the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] The Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium hereby decrees:

To convene the third session of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet of the 12th Convocation on 5 December 1990 in the city of Minsk.

N. Dementey, chairman,  
Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet;  
31 October 1990, Minsk

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The Presidium of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet reports that at the next session it is intended to consider the following issues:

The state plan for the economic and social development of the Belorussian SSR for 1991.

The approval of the report on the implementation of the Belorussian SSR state budget for 1989.

The Belorussian SSR draft law, "On Property of the Belorussian SSR."

The Belorussian SSR draft law, "On Leasing."

The Belorussian SSR draft law, "On Enterprises in the Belorussian SSR."

The Belorussian SSR draft laws "On Banks and Banking Activity in the Belorussian SSR" and "On the Belorussian SSR National Bank."

The draft law on the rights of citizens of the Belorussian SSR who suffered from the disaster at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant.

The draft law on the status of the territory subjected to radioactive pollution and citizens living on it.

The Belorussian SSR draft law "On the Status of the Belorussian SSR People's Deputy."

The provisions for the Secretariat of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet.

The Belorussian SSR draft law "On Local Self-Government and Local Business in the Belorussian SSR."

The draft law on taxes on enterprises and organizations.

The draft law on income tax from citizens.

The draft law on freedom of economic activity and the development of entrepreneurship.

The draft law on investment activity in the Belorussian SSR.

The draft law on economic insolvency and bankruptcy.

The draft law on securities and the stock exchange.

The draft law on pricing in the Belorussian SSR.

The draft law on employment of the population of the Belorussian SSR.

The draft law on the basic principles of popular rule in the Belorussian SSR.

The Belorussian SSR draft law "On Citizenship in the Belorussian SSR."

The concept of the new Union treaty.

The militia of the Belorussian SSR.

Making changes and additions to certain legislative acts of the Belorussian SSR.

### Sokolov Views Moves To 'Depoliticize' KGB, MVD With Suspicion

91UN0367A Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 7 Nov 90 pp 1-2

[Interview with Ye.Ye. Sokolov conducted by SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA: "A Communist in the Law Enforcement Authorities Is Subordinate Only to the Law"]

[Text] "Dear Editors! Society is arguing: Some people believe that it is essential to depolitize and depoliticize the law enforcement authorities, the KGB and the Army; others, that this must not be done on any account. Both sides adduce their own arguments. What is the view of these problems on the part of the leadership of the Communist Party of Belorussia, specifically, of Comrade Ye.Ye. Sokolov, first secretary of the Belorussian CP Central Committee?"

"V. Tarasevich,  
"CPSU member since 1964, Grodno."

The editorial office asked Ye.Ye. Sokolov to grant the paper an interview on the problems raised in the letter.

[SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA] Yefrem Yevseyevich, the country is in fact living politically under multiparty conditions. New parties are emerging here in Belorussia also. Is the Republic Communist Party prepared to work under the new conditions?

[Sokolov] Many people equate multiparty conditions in our country not only with various currents and movements, but also with extremist or errant forces, which are capable merely of declaring: "We are the opposition." However, all is not that simple. I would say that democracy and a multiparty system are not a "free play" of social and political forces. After all, the result of this could be both anarchy and the elimination of the conditions for the development of democracy itself. A multiparty systems means both new laws, which regulate in detail all aspects of our social and political life, and a strong, authoritative state power ensuring not only supremacy of the law and its unconditional fulfillment, but also the observance of all human rights and liberties enshrined in the "Universal Declaration of Human Rights," the "International Pact on Civil and Political Rights," and other legal documents of the world community.

If we take the world's developed countries, in which multiparty conditions exist, it can be seen that there are there two and, at most, three leading parties, which express the interests of particular strata of the population. However, their main aims are essentially identical in both economics and politics.

But what about here? The parties, which are growing like mushrooms after rain, are not seeking ways of uniting efforts for the sake of surmounting difficulties and normalizing the situation. On the contrary, some social and political currents, which sprang up only yesterday and which are loudly endeavoring to make their presence as a new party known, begin political life with insults, slander, and the defamation of all that is not to their liking.

Are not only a unification of efforts, but also unity of aims possible on such a basis? But it is united aims for society and unity of action that life demands. And, consequently, we need to comprehend in depth all these processes, see who's who and seek that which consolidates and summons us to the noble aims of service of the people.

The Communist Party of Belorussia is prepared for constructive dialogue with various ideological and political currents and the cooperation and creation of political blocs of progressive forces. At the same time, the party will never renounce uncompromising political struggle against manifestations of anticomunism, nationalism, and chauvinism. But the Communist Party of Belorussia will achieve its ends solely by political means, within the framework of the law and democratically.

[SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA] The formation of a multiparty system is contributing to the politicization of society. It is affecting practically all strata thereof. On the other hand, the question of the depoliticization of the workforce, educational institutions, the Armed Forces and the law enforcement authorities is in connection with the revocation of Article 6 of the Constitution being raised increasingly pointedly.

[Sokolov] Assurance of political rights and liberties is a foundation of a democratic society, to the building of which we aspire.

Whence also my attitude toward depoliticization. These liquidationist manifestations aimed at the removal of the party organizations (and only CPSU organizations are meant) from the organs of administration, the workforce and so forth are being persistently stoked by certain forces with an understandable goal—depriving the Communist Party by any means of its mass base, reducing its influence on the solution of society's problems and removing it from the political arena. All this is not only baseless legally, but is also fundamentally contrary to the principles of democracy and the interests of the development of social and political life. The position of the Communist Party of Belorussia on this issue also has been clearly set forth in the draft concept of its program.

[SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA] Particularly sharp debate is under way concerning the depoliticization of the law enforcement authorities. This is natural since people wish to be confident of the independence of these authorities. But why is it precisely this sphere that has come to the fore?

[Sokolov] You have answered the question yourself. Of course, people wish to have strong law enforcement authorities and be confident of their independence, impartiality, and objectivity, the absence of "telephone law" and the unconditional equality of all before the law.

There is just one way here—the legislative enshrinement of the independence of the law enforcement authorities, a guarantee of this independence by the state and therefore, respect and observance by all political and state authorities and institutions.

On the one hand, we are moving toward a state based on the rule of law and are declaring the supremacy of the law, given full observance of human rights and liberties. The Communist Party of Belorussia unconditionally supports this path of development of Soviet Belorussia.

On the other hand, the ban on the activity of party organizations and party affiliation on the part of employees of the law enforcement authorities, as, incidentally, of any other individual, is a direct infringement of the individual's right to freedom of belief and freedom to engage in political activity. This manifest discrimination runs counter to a number of documents in international law, beneath which stands the signature of representatives of the Belorussian SSR. I refer to the "Universal Declaration of Human Rights" and the

"International Pact on Civil and Political Rights," and also the final document of the Vienna meeting of representatives of the states participating in the CSCE. Note such a fundamental right of each individual as equal access, without any discrimination, to state service in one's country.

I would cite as an example Article 10 of the "Basic Principles Concerning Independence of the Judiciary" adopted in 1985 by the Seventh UN Congress. It reads: "...There must in the selection of judges be no discrimination in respect of a given person on the basis of race, skin color, sex, religion, political and other beliefs, national or social origins, property, class or other position...."

I would like to mention that this document, while guaranteeing the human rights of the judiciary, as of other citizens, to freedom of speech, religious belief and association and assembly, obliges judges to behave so as to ensure respect for their office and to preserve the impartiality and independence of the judiciary. It is thus that I see our law enforcement authorities.

The legislation of the majority of foreign countries is based on such legal principles, incidentally. A ban on any discrimination on political grounds is established in France, for example. Citizens in state service are guaranteed the right to join political alliances.

In the United States, a judge may be a member of any party. And even the U.S. President does not, in accordance with the 1883 Civil Service Act, have the right to dismiss or prosecute a government official on political grounds.

The aims of those who aspire to depoliticization are quite transparent and are visible to the naked eye. It is a question not simply of the removal of the Communist Party from the law enforcement authorities. The intention is to deprive the Communists working in the courts, the procuracy, and the internal affairs, state security, state arbitration, and justice authorities of the right of membership in the party and the creation of party organizations.

The communists see this as a violation of democracy and legality.

[SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA] Yefrem Yevseyevich, you, as a member of the USSR Supreme Soviet, voted for the USSR law "Public Associations." How does it interpret the right of employees of the law enforcement authorities to engage in political activity?

[Sokolov] This law, which takes effect as of 1 January 1991, establishes that "the right to association is an inalienable right of man and citizen proclaimed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and enshrined in the USSR Constitution and the constitutions of the Union and autonomous republics. The Soviet state, which is interested in the development of the creative initiative and social and political assertiveness of the

citizens and their participation in the control of the state and society, guarantees USSR citizens the freedom to create public organizations." Article 16 of this law stipulates that "servicemen and persons holding office in the law enforcement authorities are guided in their official activity by the requirements of the law and are not bound by the decisions of political parties and mass public movements pursuing political ends".

Thus the law does not limit the right of employees of the law enforcement authorities to membership of a political party or to association in party organizations. This is in keeping also with the requirements of the International Pact on Civil and Political Rights. It emphasizes that each person has the right to freedom of association with others; enjoyment of this right is not subject to any restrictions except for the strictly defined instances stipulated by law.

[SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA] How will the KGB operate in defense of the Communists working in the law enforcement authorities?

[Sokolov] I would like to emphasize once again that the demands concerning depoliticization are a political maneuver aimed at squeezing members of the CPSU out of the law enforcement authorities. Current legislation provides for the possibility of the realization in full of the procedure stipulated by the CPSU Rules concerning membership of the CPSU and the creation of party organizations. This procedure should be observed. We need, therefore, where necessary, to firmly and decisively, relying on the law and using all means of legal protection, to uphold the right of the Communists working in the law enforcement authorities to membership in the CPSU and the creation of primary party organizations. Note that it is not only a question of the personal rights of the citizens here. Any attempts at a professional ban on political grounds and the creation by employees of the law enforcement authorities of their own party organizations are nothing other than an illegal form of pressure on these authorities and their employees.

Let us call things by their proper name. This is essentially an attempt to make them dependent—not on the law but some people's group interests. People should know that this has already been condemned by the party as an antistate, illegal and antipopular practice.

Nor can it be forgotten that pressure on the Communists of the law enforcement authorities will result in serious losses. Many skilled specialists, and in the law enforcement authorities the majority of them are members of the CPSU, today find themselves in a difficult position, the normal rhythm of their work is being disrupted and an unhealthy atmosphere is being created around them. How is this influencing their work? The answer is obvious: The mechanism of safeguarding law and order is being shaken and the cause of the fight against crime is suffering.

The situation requires greater flexibility in the party organizations of the law enforcement authorities. The strictest compliance with the law "Public Associations" should be accorded paramount attention. It should be understood that unswerving compliance with the law is a manifestation of high party-mindedness. Working on the creation of a state based on the rule of law, the party cannot do otherwise. All that is outside of these requirements should receive the appropriate party evaluation and be actively countered.

[SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA] And if a Communist working in the law enforcement authorities has acted outside of the law?

[Sokolov] He is to be held specially to account, of course. He bears a dual responsibility—in accordance with the law and as a Communist. I will emphasize once more that a Communist in the law enforcement authorities is subordinate only to the law. I have to say plainly that there is a bad apple in every crop, as they say. Proceedings are instituted against both Communists and non-party persons for breaches of legality. Approximately 800 Communists were punished within the Belorussian SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs for various misdemeanors in 1989.

However, removal from office or the dismissal of employees of the law enforcement authorities is the prerogative of the authorities themselves and the organs of state power. No political motives, membership of this party or the other included, may be grounds for such actions. This is inhumane and illegal and is categorized internationally as discrimination on political grounds.

[SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA] And what, incidentally, is your evaluation of the present situation in the party organizations of law enforcement authorities? Are their ranks declining or growing?

[Sokolov] Here are some statistics. There are over 23,000 Communists in the Republic's law enforcement authorities. Some 83 persons have in recent years left the party (this as of October), and more than 700 have joined in the past 18 months. For example, two members of the CPSU have quit in the procuracy authorities; among people's judges, none.

[SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA] And, finally, I believe that the question of depoliticization of the law enforcement authorities, the armed forces and the KGB is being made much of for the added reason that talk is emerging in society concerning a possible military coup. What is your view of such talk?

[Sokolov] I will be brief and to the point. The KGB is opposed to any coups—conservative or democratic, right or left. It is not confrontation, but civil peace and civil harmony for the good of Soviet Belorussia that are needed today like the air we breathe.

**'Anticommunist' Ideology of Belorussian Popular Front Assailed**

*91UN0367B Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA  
in Russian 11 Nov 90 p 2*

[Article by V. Treshchev, adviser to the Minsk Obkom: "Dangerous Extremes"]

[Text] For quite a long time—by the standards of the present fast-moving times—the leaders of the BNF [Belorussian Popular Front] complained about the lack of attention to them on the part of the republic press and the impossibility of conveying their concerns to the people of Belorussia about their present and future. But now not only occasional TV appearances, but also the platform of the republic parliament and NARODNAYA GAZETA are affording a full opportunity for saying all that is on one's mind. And much was on the mind of Z. Poznyak, to judge by his interview in the parliamentary publication—from economy, history and social anthropology, through political science and literary criticism.

In his dislike for Belorussia's eastern neighbor and the communist idea, the leader of the BNF has long been unambiguously steadfast. And there would be nothing all that out of the ordinary here had it been a question of the views of an ordinary citizen unknown to the public at large—there are few people who are severe and impartial today. But we are dealing here, it would seem, with something else—the growth of the unusual, to put it mildly, personal views of a specific individual into the policy and ideology of quite a mass public movement. And this is a very serious matter and cannot fail to disturb. The more so in that the practical realization of this policy is being accompanied by manifestations of ever increasing embitterment and hatred and the creation of another "enemy image"—in the shape of the CPSU and "foreigners." It is thus that I understand Z. Poznyak's revelations in his interview and it is such a policy that is being pursued at mass meetings and other actions of the BNF. The inner mechanism and motives of such a policy of the "new democrats" were clearly revealed in an article by the well-known Ukrainian writer Boris Oleynik in PRAVDA, published the same day as the interview in NARODNAYA GAZETA—23 October.

Amazing, but true: The BNF, which was even recently setting as a most important goal the de-ideologization of social life, is today itself offering Belorussians, as a new ideology, anticommunism. Not for scholarly exercises and intellectual development, what is more, but of the most primitive model—"organized," as Z. Poznyak puts it. As if on command, the BNF switched from criticism of individual "bad" communist leaders to a concentrated attack on members of the CPSU in general—each and everyone who is not throwing away his party card and not crossing over to the new democrats. "Communist mafia!" "Bolshevik Communist carrion crows!"—these are far from the strongest expressions from the vocabulary of BNF activists at recent mass meetings in

Minsk and its suburbs. "Soviets Without Communists," "Citizens' and Strike Committees Without Communists!"—these slogans are being heard constantly from the mouths of the leaders of the front now. I would like at times to ask them to take a look at their own BNF program, whose first lines say: "The BNF operates within the framework of the Belorussian SSR Constitution and unites people irrespective of their social origins and position and their professional, national, party and religious affiliation." Or have the program and statutes of the movement adopted a year ago (as recorded there—"...formed for the organization of broad public support for the radical changes initiated by the best forces of the CPSU....") been canceled by some of the fathers of the BNF?

Do not worry about these political "covers" and "wrappers"; they are falling away from some politicians today faster than fluff in the wind. V. Sedov, a BNF activist, once let slip at a mass meeting the fact that our front would not, evidently, pursue in respect of the Communists a policy of extermination: We will give them, he said, a newspaper stand each—let them sell their trash.

Excellent latter-day democrats! Are they merely making dictatorial declarations, forgetting to ask the Communists themselves whether they agree to such a prospect? I personally, for example, categorically do not agree. In me, personally, calls of the "We will root out the Bolshevik contagion!"-type (with wives and children, should we assume?) evoke feelings quite the opposite of gratitude and acknowledgment. True, I am not circulating these feelings and not making them public at mass meetings. And if we do not all wish to cross the line beyond which there is just one thing—a great misfortune for everyone—do not provoke anyone or evoke such feelings. I beseech you, do not!

One may (it is permitted!) today accuse the CPSU committees and their leaders of everything, and much, as they say, is deserved. But finding in their present decisions or speeches signs of a policy of hatred—even the most diligent seeker and digger will not succeed in this. After all, it is today's Communists, soberly evaluating their regrettable previous experience, who have declared that a policy compounded of hatred (class, party, national—any!) will inevitably lead to the need for the realization of this hatred in action. So do we have to go through these tragic lessons again and again? It has long been known, incidentally, that all extremes have a tendency to come together. It was with good reason, evidently, that Lithuanian Prime Minister Kazimiera Prunskiene, speaking recently in an interview with IZVESTIYA about the current policy of "Sajudis" (which is the authority and example for our BNF), described it as "a kind of Bolshevism blinded by hatred for dissidence, pinning on labels, and pronouncing anathema." You could not, in my opinion, put it more accurately in respect to the thoughts and, as a whole, also the policy of Z. Poznyak. A few further observations.

In the first lines of the interview, Z. Poznyak states emphatically that, through the fault of the Communists, naturally, "Belarus is sliding toward the abyss," but in neighboring republics, meanwhile, "progressive political and economic processes are under way." In terms of which indicator, I would like to know, have we lagged behind other republics, where "everything is moving far ahead?" In terms, perhaps, of the number of demolished and desecrated monuments, as in Western Ukraine or Lithuania, or in terms of sausage for R18, as in Estonia? Or in terms of the number of casualties, refugees, and immigrants, as in a number of other republics? I am not sure that the majority of people in Belorussia would take these indicators to be a sign of the progress of our society. And we have had no news from anywhere as yet of successes in "economic processes."

For the public at large the terms of the new Union treaty are as yet quite unknown (as they are to the "party bureaucrats" even), but Z. Poznyak knows and anticipates them already—they are "enslaving" for Belorussia, and Belorussians will be forced to sign it "compulsorily!"

And one further point, the trickiest, perhaps. We have seen for ourselves in practice (regrettable once again) how delicate and painful the sphere of national relations is today and how careful and balanced we need to be here if we venture to give our opinions and prescriptions. Even the patience of our Themis, long silent in this connection, has finally, as reported recently from Moscow, given out, and she has begun to make her evaluations of the devotees of the inordinately free treatment of the feelings of national dignity, as prescribed in a civilized society. God forbid that any parallels or resemblances be suggested here—I am simply emphasizing the seriousness of the situation. And utterly incomprehensible here is the tone and meaning of Z. Poznyak's statements in respect both of the people of Russia and their collective representatives—be they the present "Russian democrats" or writers. Having pinned on a whole number of insulting labels, having made a scientific discovery (Belorussians and Russians, it turns out, are not only people of entirely different cultures, but races also!) and once again having proposed en passant as a radical weapon against the primordial Russian aggressiveness and "conceited Asiatic chauvinism" the need for "the creation for Russia of a civilized confinement" (shall I venture to assume, of the known methods, a reservation?)—does the author of all this believe that such things would be looked on kindly not only in Russia but also in Belorussia?! Or are the prospects of his movement's relations with people of other nationalities a matter of total indifference to him? But such things are absolutely not a matter of indifference to other people, and they will have to live and work together for many years to come, despite all the forecasts and intentions of the BNF.

What would I like to say in conclusion? I do not know who provided the heading for the interview "There Is Always an Alternative..."—Z. Poznyak himself or a journalist. It seems to me that by some irony this heading

is contrary to the meaning and form of the statements of the BNF leader. There are practically no half-tones, nuances, or doubts there—everything is to the author of the thoughts absolutely clear and comprehensible, it seems. The opinions are unceremonious, simple and ponderable. Upon reading them, one has the fleeting thought that these are not even statements, but sentences behind which looms the inexorable "not subject to appeal!" But the opinion of one man, one group of people, one public movement even, given our present beloved pluralism, is by no means a sentence. There is, indeed, almost always an alternative. And this, evidently, is a principal path of the salvation of a society rent by contradictions. Both real and imaginary.

Fee made over to the "Children of Chernobyl" account.

#### Agenda Set for 31st Belorussian CP Congress

91UN0366A Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA  
in Russian 14 Nov 90 p 1

[“Resolution of the 21st Plenum of the Central Committee of the Belorussian Communist Party on Convening the 31st Congress of the Belorussian Communist Party”]

[Text] I. To convene the next, 31st, Belorussian CP Congress on 28 November 1990 in the premises of the Minsk Officers House.

II. As a change to the resolution of the 17th Plenum of the Belorussian CP Central Committee of 27 March this year, to submit the following items for consideration by the congress:

1. The accountability report of the Belorussian CP Central Committee and the tasks of party organizations in the republic under the new conditions.
2. The accountability report of the Belorussian CP Auditing Commission.
3. The budget and property of the Belorussian Communist Party.
4. A concept for the Belorussian Communist Party program.
5. The position and action program of the Belorussian Communist Party in connection with the republic's transition to market relations.
6. The Belorussian Communist Party Rules.
7. A provision on the Belorussian CP Central Control Commission.
8. Election of a Belorussian CP Central Committee first secretary.
9. Election of the chairman of the Belorussian CP Central Control Commission.
10. Election of the Belorussian CP Central Committee.

11. Election of the Belorussian CP Central Control Commission.

12. Resolutions, statements, and appeals of the 31st Congress of the Belorussian Communist Party.

**III. To approve in the main the "Accountability Report of the Belorussian Communist Party and the Tasks of the Republic Party Organizations under the New Conditions."**

Giving due consideration to the exchange of opinions among those attending the Central Committee plenum, the Belorussian CP Central Committee Bureau will work on its accountability report and present it for discussion at the 31st Belorussian CP Central Committee Congress.

To deem it expedient to set forth in the report referred to in the first item on the agenda questions relating to the program and normative documents of the 31st Congress of the Belorussian Communist Party.

To assign Belorussian CP Central Committee First Secretary Comrade Ye.Ye. Sokolov to present the Central Committee accountability report at the 31st Belorussian CP Congress.

#### **Proposal for Future Ukrainian Government Structure**

*91UN0207A Kiev LITERATURNA UKRAYINA  
in Ukrainian 11 Oct 90 p 2*

[Proposal by O.H. Bilorus, member of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, and V.M. Bratishko, graduate student in economic studies: "Defining Alternative Proposal"]

[Text] In June of 1990 the International Institute of Management submitted a proposed organization chart of government leadership for the republic. In the time since then, the proposal has been modified. This detailed version of the organization chart of government leadership was prepared by the Research department of Scientific and Applied Management and the School of Management of the International Institute of Management (MIM-Kiev), led by the Executive Director of MIM-Kiev, member correspondent of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR O.H. Bilorus. Its preparation is an integral part of the long-term fundamental study of the problems of controlling the Ukraine's economy during the transition to a free market economy. The basic principles of the proposal are full national and economic sovereignty of the Ukraine, widespread development of individual economic initiative and entrepreneurship among the populace, and the application of free market methods to actively regulate the development of agriculture.

The authors strove to keep the number of governmental positions to a minimum, and to retain the objectively necessary structures of the transitional period.

A system of national government is a social and organizational system, which guarantees a purposeful influence

on all aspects of community life (economic, social, political, etc.). The diagram illustrates such a detailed organization chart for the national government of the Ukraine. Its scientific development is based on a series of principles, which the authors feel would ensure the most effective organization of government for a regulated nation and socially-oriented market-based economy.

#### **1. Ukrainian Parliament and Its Bi-Cameral Structure**

The legislative branch of the democratic government of the Ukraine is parliament, which creates all laws, and also maintains constant direct control of the executive branch. The members of parliament are delegates elected by the people, not by parties. Parliament is comprised of the Senate and House of Delegates. The Senate is the upper house, the House of Delegates is the lower house. The lower house consists of representatives of the republic's regions (oblasts), and does not carry out the function of a house of nationalities, since the Ukraine is not presenting itself as a federated republic with the national or territorial objectives of federation. The organization of the Supreme Soviet (parliament) as two houses is necessary to foster development of a structure of local self-government, and in conjunction with this, the transfer of decision-making in a whole series of issues of economic and social development in the republic to the oblast level.

On the basis of this need for a radical restructuring of the middle levels within the governmental system of the republic, the oblast level should be transformed into the principal center for the solution of questions of the organization of production of the following:

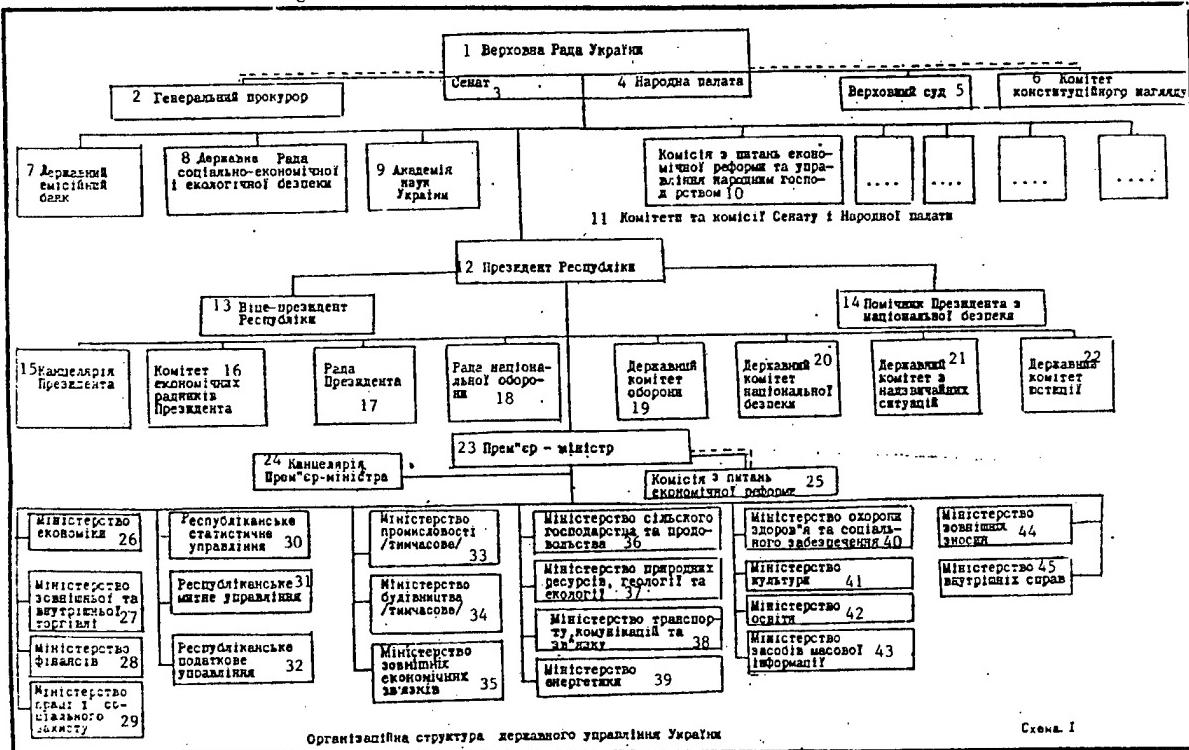
- food production and raw materials for manufacturing
- consumer goods from light industry and the forest products industry
- residential housing construction
- communal housing and social services for residents.

The legislative responsibilities of the republic as a whole and of the individual oblasts are to be properly delineated. This is the primary specific characteristic and specification of the proposed model of national government of the Ukraine. The Ukrainian Supreme Soviet confirms the members of the Supreme Court, the Committee of Constitutional Verification, and the Public Prosecutor. These three operate within the guidelines of the constitution and legislation. They act independently.

#### **2. The Presidential Form of Government**

At the top of Ukrainian government there will be a president. The president of the Ukraine is simultaneously head of state and chief executive officer. He reports only to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine. During his tenure as president, he ceases to be a member of his political party.

## Organizational Chart of Governmental Structure of the Ukraine



Key:

1. Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine
  2. Prosecutor General
  3. Senate
  4. House of Delegates
  5. Supreme Court
  6. Committee of Constitutional Oversight
  7. State Emissions Bank
  8. State Council of Socio-Economic and Ecological Security
  9. Ukrainian Academy of Sciences
  10. Commission for Questions of Economic Reform and Management of National Economy
  11. Committees and Commissions of Senate and House Delegates
  12. President of the Republic
  13. Vice-President of the Republic
  14. Assistant to the President for National Security
  15. Office of the President
  16. Committee of Economic Advisors to the President
  17. Presidential Council
  18. National Defense Council
  19. State Defense Committee
  20. State National Security Committee
  21. State Committee for Extraordinary Situations

22. State Judicial Committee
  23. Prime Minister
  24. Office of the Prime Minister
  25. Commission for Questions of Economic Reform
  26. Ministry of the Economy
  27. Ministry of Internal and External Trade
  28. Ministry of Finance
  29. Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare
  30. Republic Department of Statistics
  31. Republic Department of Customs
  32. Republic Department of Taxation
  33. Ministry of Industry (Temporary)
  34. Ministry of Construction (Temporary)
  35. Ministry of External Economic Affairs
  36. Ministry of Agriculture and Provisioning
  37. Ministry of Natural Resources, Geology, and Ecology
  38. Ministry of Transportation and Communication
  39. Ministry of Energy
  40. Ministry of Health and Social Welfare
  41. Ministry of Culture
  42. Ministry of Education
  43. Ministry of Press and Information
  44. Ministry of External Affairs
  45. Ministry of Internal Affairs

The president has two deputies, a vice-president and prime minister, and also an aide for national security. The vice president is second in command to the president in matters of state and legislation, whereas the prime minister is second in command for economic and social development in the republic, and satisfying the material and spiritual needs of the people. The vice president is chairman of the Senate and chairs any joint meetings of both houses of the Supreme Soviet. This will create a unified system, provide a balance between legislative and executive government, as well as in the actions of the leaders and government of the republic. The vice-president and prime minister are appointed by the Supreme Soviet on the recommendation of the President, with no regard for party affiliation.

### **3. The Organization of Committees for Resolution of the Most Important National Questions**

These committees would report to the Supreme Soviet, and would include sections on constitutional oversight, jurisprudence, supervision of prosecution, monetary policy in the national economic system; economic, ecological, and social security, fundamental scientific research which would ensure the technological security of the republic. This system would include:

- Supreme Court of the Ukraine
- Committee of Constitutional Oversight
- Prosecutor General of the Ukraine
- The State Council of Social, Economic, and Ecological Safety of the Ukraine
- The Ukrainian State Emissions Bank
- The Ukrainian Academy of Sciences.

The State Council of Social, Economic, and Ecological Security would coordinate national politics and decisions of the government of the republic with regards to radical changes in use and distribution of natural and human resources, allocation of production, and international agreements considering economic, ecological, and political questions relating to the security or sovereignty of the Ukraine.

All these committees should have the capability of initiating legislation.

### **4. The President of the Ukraine**

The President is the head of state. He is individually responsible for the material and spiritual well-being of the people of the Ukraine. The President is elected by a direct vote of the people throughout the nation. The President conducts his activity entirely in accordance with the Constitution of the Ukraine. No other laws can increase or decrease his authority. The following committees and organs of national government, answer directly to him:

- The National Defense Council of the Ukraine

- The Presidential Council
- The Cabinet of Ministers
- The Committee of Economic Advisors to the President
- The Vice-Presidential Institute
- The Institute of the Aide to the President for matters of national security.

The National Defense Council of the Ukraine is a collegiate organ headed by the President of the republic, responsible for the minimal but necessary defense of the nation, the development of the Ukrainian National Armed Forces, and the interrelation with other nations upon its entry into the structure of international military alliances, and other issues.

The Presidential Council includes the vice-president, the chairman of the House of Delegates, the prime minister and other government officials, the chairmen of all committees and commissions of the Supreme Soviet, the president of the State Council for Social, Economic and Ecological Security, the president of the Ukrainian State Emissions Bank, and the president of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences.

The Committee of Economic Advisors to the President consists of expert economists. The President appoints the individuals in this committee.

The office of the President organizes and controls all civil service positions. The office is also responsible for the preservation and maintenance of all archival materials and informational documents, deciding their merit and value, preparation of materials for temporary and permanent storage, and their safekeeping.

Derived from the proposed organizational structure of national government of the Ukraine, we suggest the following leadership.

The prime minister is the executive officer. The structure of government, which seems necessary at least until 1995, includes the following ministries and experts, which are absolutely necessary in this transitional stage. There are five blocs of ministries:

**Bloc 1.** Ministries of general administration, which coordinate and regulate the national economy. They include:

- The Ukrainian Ministry of the Economy
- The Ukrainian Ministry of Finance
- The Ukrainian Ministry of External and Internal Trade
- The Commission on Questions of Economic Reform (a temporary body)
- The Ukrainian Department of Taxation
- The Ukrainian Department of Statistics

—The Ukrainian Department of Customs.

The Ministry of the Economy is the main governmental organ that organizes the working out of state strategy in the sphere of economic and social policy, conducting active structural policy, guarantying leadership by fulfilling the functions of state business under takings, of the social orientation of the economy and the function of anti-inflationary regulations of the national economy.

In comparison with the previous structure of the executive branch, the ministry of the economy has been given a combination of responsibilities previously assigned to the Ukrainian SSR agencies of "Derzplan" (planning), "Derzkomtsin" (commerce and pricing), and "Derzpostach" (supply). This is not a matter of conserving the old agencies within the new structure. The new ministry should include in its planning all aspects of production financed by the republic's budget, as well as the cooperative and private sector of the economy.

The major task of the Ministry of Finance is the establishment of the fiscal policy of the Ukraine, the development of methods for distribution of the republic's financial resources, which include all internal budgetary funds for the development of a long-term budget program.

The Republic's Department of Taxation is something new, which will create and supervise a tax structure to finance the nation's budgeted expenses.

The governmental structure also includes a Bureau of Statistics, whose function is obvious. The bureau should design, establish, and develop information-gathering technology, maintain data banks and communication links, and so on.

The Ministry of Internal and External Trade is to maintain government supervision over the creation and development of all, without exception, trade between companies, regions, oblasts, and with outside partners. This ministry maintains a state register of all companies, organizations, institutions, and farms, whether they are government owned, cooperative, shareholder owned, associational, or others, which are active in any sectors of society within the republic, as well as outside its borders, if residents of the republic or the nation itself are participants. This ministry has functions in the sphere of marketing, overseeing pricing policy set by internal markets for capital and products.

In regards to external economic relations, the ministry maintains government oversight to ensure economic sovereignty of the republic, assessing the value of external economic contacts by associations and businesses in the basis of national interests.

Also included in this group of ministries is the Republic's Department of Customs, whose functions are well known.

The tax, statistical, and customs departments do not have the status of ministries.

**Bloc 2.** Ministries whose main function is the most effective allocation of the republic's available resources. Included are:

—The Ukrainian Ministry of Industry

—The Ukrainian Ministry of Agriculture and Provisioning

—The Ukrainian Ministry of Construction

—The Ukrainian Ministry of Natural Resources, Geology and Ecology

—The Ministry of Labor and Social Services

—The Ministry of External Economic Relations.

The Ministry of Agriculture and Provisioning, and the Ministry of Natural Resources, Geology and Ecology regulate the use, reclamation, and preservation of all natural resources, which are the nation's wealth and property of the nation, including: the earth and everything under the earth, forests, air, fauna and flora, water and fish. The orientation of their continuing activity should be the complete state program for the understanding, use, preservation and reproduction of the national resources of the republic, which has the force of law and acts as the starting point for the working out of systems of state and regional comprehensive programs for the development of enterprises, companies, organizations (concerns, associations, corporations, consortium, holding companies and the like), regardless of the form of ownership and the methods of production.

The structure of this group of ministries should include a division of national inspections, fortified with a code of laws to regulate the responsibilities on all sides for preservation of national resources.

In addition to functions of coordinating and controlling, the scope of these ministries should include the task of finding better and less destructive methods of using natural resources, and also designation of the nomenclature and comprehensiveness of government orders for extracting beneficial resources, development of agricultural production and forestry production, fishing, recycling of commercial wastes for further use, creation of national reserves and their prudent use.

The discharge of the major tasks of these ministries should also include the organization, implementation, and financing of applicable scientific research projects in these fields, under the general control and coordination of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukraine.

The Ministry of Natural Resources, Geology and Ecology will include a special Bureau of hydrometeorology, seismology and the like.

Within its area, each ministry and bureau carries out the functions of organizing and controlling government

investment and innovation policies, assuring the creation of programs and government projects of scientific research and exploration and their financing in reaching an established goal.

They will also be responsible for registering an licensing patents in industry, organizing inventive and application-oriented work, and expert advisories to define obsolescence of technology and technological production, taking steps to prevent lagging in development of production in comparison with world output, the solution of all problems of technological safety of the nation.

The Ministry of Labor and Social Services integrates the functions of guaranteeing the most effective use of labor resources in the nation, of controlling employment in conformity with established regulations, and of providing pension and social services to the population. This ministry provides, for the organization and implementation, without exception, in all areas pertaining to the existence of the society, a system of scientifically based economic and social programs to assure full and effective employment of the population of the republic, allowing all employable citizens of the republic the opportunity to be employed in the occupation of their choice, according to their abilities, education, professional training, and also based on societal needs. It mediates between enterprises and the work force, studies the needs and proposals of workers, surveys the unemployed work force, and provides unemployment compensation, in accordance with existing policies in the Ukraine.

The functions of this ministry include control of the wage level in the republic, in its oblasts, in the various branches of the national economy, and also provides indices of salary increases and labor productivity in the republic, and the preparation of a corrective character of appropriate propositions concerning wage changes appropriate to changes in price and income indices.

A major function of this ministry is the development of proposed legislation for social policies and social welfare.

**Bloc 3.** Ministries which fill the functions of central government in areas of production and mass communication. They include:

- The Ministry of Energy
- The Ministry of Transportation, Communication, and Control
- The Ministry of Press and Information.

The existence of these government agencies does not preclude the existence of private associational forms of ownership and management in these areas. There could, for example, be non-government informational agencies, polygraph institutes, radio and television stations, etc.

The functions of the Ministry of Energy include the creation of an energy use strategy, for the organization of

production and usage of all forms of energy, and rational energy conservation. Government control of energy production and distribution is necessary because the widely distributed sources of energy and generalized need for energy throughout the republic and the low rate of profitability for energy production indicate the need for a centrally directed system.

The Ministry of Transportation, Communication and Control carries out the group of duties and functions formerly assumed by: the USSR Ministry of Railways for the Southern and Southwestern, Lvov, Odessa, Prydniprovska and Donetsk railroads; the USSR Ministry of Sea Transport for the Black Sea steamships; the USSR Ministry of Civil Aviation for Ukrainian air travel; the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Transportation; the River Traffic Control of the Ukrainian SSR; the USSR Ministry of Transportation Construction (T.C.) for the industrial associations Southern T.C., Southwestern T.C., Lvov T.C., Odessa T.C., and Prydniprovska T.C.; the Ministry of Highways of the Ukrainian SSR; and the Ministry of Communications of the Ukrainian SSR.

The Ministry of Press and Information is an institute of government radio and television, information agencies and publishing houses. There may also be non-government associations parallel to these in radio and television, which would be controlled and coordinated by this institute.

**Bloc 4.** Ministries responsible for the functions of central coordination of social welfare. This fourth group of ministries meet societal needs of the population, the funding of programs made available through the national budget. Based on the concept of separate budget assignments in the financial system of the republic, with functionally designated budget items, it was necessary to limit the number of social agencies to three:

- The Ministry of Health and Social Welfare
- The Ministry of Education
- The Ministry of Culture.

The functions of the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare are self explanatory.

The Ministry of Education combines the tasks formerly carried out by the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Elementary Education, and the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, as well as departments of pedagogical institutions of all other ministries and departments which had higher, secondary, specialized and professional-technical institutions of the territory of the republic. For example, included would be the educational sections of the USSR's Ministry of Civil Aviation and the Ukrainian SSR's Agricultural training schools, etc. It would also be beneficial to include within this ministry control of professional schools existing within the Soviet departments of defense, of the KGB and the MVS [Ministry of Internal Affairs], which will be transformed into civilian institutions of higher learning.

This would allow coordination of all aspects of higher education, making the educational system of the Ukraine more competitive and compatible with those of other countries.

The Ministry of Culture is responsible for all the traditional roles of such an agency, including development of film and cinematography industries. In addition, this agency is associated with several national committees and federations for sport, cultural and physical education, and tourism. This ministry is responsible for funding of such projects from the national budget. The Ministry of Culture coordinates physical education, sport, and tourism, ensuring the development of a coordinated system for physical and cultural activity for the citizens.

**Bloc 5.** Ministries and agencies responsible for guaranteeing the national sovereignty of the Ukraine. These organs of governmental leadership carry out the functions of legislation and government supervision of regulations, maintenance of internal law and order, internal and external security, and external political relations with other nations. These agencies should include:

- The State Justice Committee
- The Ministry of External Affairs
- The State Defense Committee
- The State Security Committee
- The Ministry of Internal Affairs
- The State Committee for Extraordinary Situations.

The State Justice Committee, the State Security Committee, the State Defense Committee, and the State Committee for Extraordinary Situations are controlled directly by the President of the Ukraine.

The proposed organizational structure for government of the republic, based on the principles of presidential rule allows for leadership with a minimal number of individuals, and its structure should and can be flexible. Within this structure the national executive organs are clearly designated as the responsibility of the President, whereas the ministries and the temporary agencies are the responsibility of the Prime Minister.

The reality of today's situation is such that it would be impossible to immediately switch from a system of administrative government carried out through a series of ministries to a system of self-governed development of the national economy with free market control of economic relations. It was therefore necessary to create a set of temporary ministries, such as the Ministry of Industry and the Ministry of Construction. These agencies will play a major role in the transition from centralized government control of the economy to a system of self-management by concerns, corporations and associations. Several of these agencies should be abolished after the five-year transitional period.

The authors of this Project believe that this organizational chart of national government of the Ukrainian SSR meets the strategic needs of creating a unified and effective system of managing the national economy of the republic in the period of transition to a social-market economy. The proposed system takes into consideration the positive and negative aspects of governmental systems of the developed countries. The authors are ready to cooperate in the further refinement of this proposal to solve the most pressing problem of developing a governmental structure.

#### **Ukrainian Republican Party Head Interviewed**

*91UN0293A Moscow SOVETSKIY PATRIOT  
in Russian 15-21 Oct 90*

[Interview with Levko Lukyanenko, Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet deputy and chairman of the Ukrainian Republican Party, by V. Aleshin and G. Chernomorskiy; place and date not given: "For Independence, Against Violence"]

[Text] [SOVETSKIY PATRIOT] Levko Grigoryevich, at present the issue of the new Union treaty is one of the main issues in the political life of the country and all the republics. What is your attitude toward the prospect of it being signed?

[Lukyanenko] I am categorically against a political treaty in any form. It would force the Ukraine to delegate certain powers to Moscow, make our republic dependent and subject to control, and restrict its sovereignty. We, republicans, see the Ukraine only as completely independent.

[SOVETSKIY PATRIOT] As you see it, what should the political system of this state be?

[Lukyanenko] First of all, this should be a democratic republic with a parliamentary system, freedom of political activity, and a multiparty system. No party, including ours, may have a monopoly on truth. Practice is the touchstone for truth, but the correctness of the path taken is verified ahead of time in the course of discussions; this provides a safeguard against ossification and dogmatism. It is possible that the Communist Party will also operate in this republic, but only as one of many parties.

Secondly, our party is frequently accused of nationalism without foundation. Our slogan is not "The Ukraine for Ukrainians" but rather "The Ukraine for the Citizens of the Ukraine" regardless of nationality.

[SOVETSKIY PATRIOT] You would agree, however, that the issue of whether the Ukraine is to be in a federation or confederation, or to leave the Union entirely, is too momentous to be resolved according to the will of any one party or group. What is your attitude toward the concept of a referendum?

[Lukyanenko] Thirty years ago I was convicted under Article 58 precisely for advocating, together with like-minded people, the holding of a referendum on the issue of the Ukraine seceding from the Union, in keeping with the USSR Constitution. I recognize a referendum as a form of showing the will of the people at present as well, though I understand that it does not necessarily bring about just decisions. For example, what may a referendum in Kazakhstan indicate, where two-thirds of the population are non-Kazakh?

[SOVETSKIY PATRIOT] How did the position outlined in the paper "How We Are to Build Up Russia" by A.I. Solzhenitsyn make you feel?

[Lukyanenko] I acknowledge the talent and courage of Aleksandr Isayevich, all the more so because I was a prisoner of the Gulag as he was—I spent more than 25 years behind barbed wire. This is why it is particularly painful to see that in this work the writer abandons the principles of democracy, lapses into a great-power stance, and willingly or unwillingly plays into the hands of Russian chauvinists with an imperial mindset. He sort of places the Russian nation above the Ukrainians and the Belorussians. There is something insulting about this for us, Ukrainians.

[SOVETSKIY PATRIOT] So far we have been talking about the political aspect of the matter. What is your view of the economic aspect?

[Lukyanenko] I am in favor of the comprehensive development of economic, cultural, and ecological ties between sovereign states—the Ukraine, Russia, Belorussia, Lithuania, and so on.

[SOVETSKIY PATRIOT] However, in 70 years rigid ties "along the vertical line" have been created which connect through the center. Now we have disrupted planning and coordination by destroying these ties without having created horizontal structures to replace them, and we are facing an economic catastrophe, complete disarray in the national economy...

[Lukyanenko] Indeed, such is reality—all the more need for the vertical system ultimately to be brought down and replaced with the complete independence of states that have economic ties on an equal footing.

I see the attainment of independence, the withdrawal of the state from all spheres of the national economy, and a transition to a market economy as a way out of the economic crisis.

The Union administrative command system is a monster which takes the fruit of the labors of all republics and redistributes them arbitrarily, while at the same time "milking" all of them. This means a tremendous number of people who are, in essence, parasites.

In the future Ukrainian Republic there should be freedom of economic operations and the right of ownership for both private individuals and organizations. A variety of property forms should triumph.

Shares should be issued and distributed free of charge, partly to the working people and partly to the labor collectives, in order to switch from state property to other forms. After all, the state has never created any property; it was created by the working people. Therefore, the "commanders" should not interfere with the self-regulatory processes of a market economy, and the people should not give sustenance to these commanders.

I am a proponent of the abrupt, rapid reorganization of the economy on a market basis. Of course, at a certain stage deterioration is unavoidable in conjunction with a reduction in labor productivity in a period of transition. All the more reason for us to pass through this period rapidly...

[SOVETSKIY PATRIOT] How much time will this require?

[Lukyanenko] I am not in favor of firm dates and deadlines. This is the most harmful remnant of the old economic thinking—to draw up plans and fail to fulfill them, to set deadlines and time-inflated "achievements" to coincide with them.

It is possible that a market economy and independence will bear fruit in two to three years. However, on the whole the rate of reorganization is going to depend on very many conditions, for example, on the character of power and the attitude of the people toward it. Thus, the work of the peasants is determined largely by their attitude toward the authorities: If they are confident that the latter will not rob them yet again they will work quietly and productively. If they are not, there will be a catastrophe.

There are other circumstances as well. The enterprises of the republics depended slavishly on their contractors as a result of the imperialist policy of the center. A full economic complex has not been created in a single one of them. When centralization declined, the Ukraine, as well as all others, found itself sort of wearing one leg of its pants, while its neighbors had the other...

Incidentally, I am very happy that a person such as Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin is heading the Russian parliament during this period of transition—this is a great blessing for us, Ukrainians. He consistently champions democratic tendencies, treats our views on independence with understanding, and acknowledges the right of all republics to exist independently. His determination to speed up perestroika objectively facilitates the destruction of the empire and the attainment of freedom by all republics.

[SOVETSKIY PATRIOT] You are not the only one to level accusations against Moscow and the CPSU—many such accusations are now being heard. However, can we pass in silence over the fact that the Ukraine became one for the first time in history under Soviet power?

[Lukyanenko] In this case, Bolshevik Moscow satisfied its imperial ambitions and could not have cared less

about the fate of the Ukrainian people. Of course, it is good that western oblasts are now also a part of the republic. However, unification in September 1939 was not the unification of a free people; it was unification in captivity.

In general there are no unambiguous formulae in history which can be applied in any case whatsoever. For example, Bogdan Khmelnytskiy had the best of intentions when he sought a union between the Ukraine and Russia. He intended to dissolve this union in the future. However, he died early and did not manage to carry out what he had conceived. Objectively speaking, the ultimate result turned out to be detrimental to the Ukraine.

[SOVETSKIY PATRIOT] In Moldova the Russian-speaking populace of the Dnestr area and the Gagauz have proclaimed their sovereignty. Do you think that a situation similar in some regard may be replicated in the Ukraine, in its eastern oblasts and the Crimea, where Ukrainians do not account for a majority of the populace?

[Lukyanenko] The eastern part of the Ukraine is our age-old ethnic territory, and the fact that there are many representatives of other nationalities there does not change this.

[SOVETSKIY PATRIOT] However, before 1954 the Crimea never was a part of the Ukraine. Ukrainians did not live there in either the Middle Ages, or later, when the nation began to be formed.

[Lukyanenko] The Crimea became a part of Russia as a result of imperial conquest. However, the Slavs who lived there as early as the 10th century were the ancestors of present-day Ukrainians. In addition, the legitimacy of the Crimea being a part of the Ukraine is confirmed by a number of treaties. The issue of the Crimea is complex. I believe that it should be resolved by the Ukrainians and the Crimean Tatars; for them, this is also their native land. However, I will always fight all attempts to dismember the one and indivisible Ukraine.

[SOVETSKIY PATRIOT] However, for now your party is not in power, and achieving its objectives is a difficult and problematic matter. We would like to know how and by what means your party intends to seek participation in governing the Ukraine?

[Lukyanenko] Our party has existed since 1976. It has gone through the underground and secured a legal status. At present, it has 5,000 members and tens of thousands of supporters. At the risk of being repetitive, I will say that I will fight the Union treaty in any case—in power, in opposition, in the Supreme Soviet, and outside it.

However, I accept only nonviolent forms of struggle: agitation, propaganda, cultural and educational activities, parliamentary activities, as well as political strikes and demonstrations—everything that is associated with expressing the will of the people peacefully. I am categorically against violence under any circumstances and

in any form, be it inflicted by the authorities or the opposition. This is an absolute principle. We have suffered too much from violence to make it a weapon. I believe that the freedom of the Ukraine may now be attained by constitutional, civilized means, and that a majority of the Ukrainian people subscribe to the objectives of my party.

#### **Ukrainian Supreme Soviet's Plyushch on Previous Parliamentary Session**

*91UN0215A Kiev LITERATURNA UKRAYINA  
in Ukrainian 25 Oct 90 p 2*

[Interview with Ivan Stepanovych Plyushch, first deputy chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet, by Yuriy Pryhornytzkyy, LITERATURNA UKRAYINA correspondent: "I Will Push the Button 'For'"]

[Text] [Correspondent] What do you think, Ivan Stepanovych, of current times, so unusual for our society after all the Stalinist and Brezhnev decades? Do you think it is right that this new time should have arrived? [Plyushch] I think a similar question is being posed between friends, co-workers, political and national leaders, and it moves each of us, because we live and speak today, hope and wish to live better, strive toward a better future for our children and grandchildren. We are the same kind of people as all those who live in the other corners of our planet. We maintain political and economic ties with them, compare our and their standard of living, study methods of producing material goods, their distribution and consumption. And we should embrace all the positive things we see. We should remember how society developed, how productive forces gradually became perfected: whenever the path was blocked by old production methods and relationships, slowing down progress, then social revolution, quite objectively, followed. This process cannot be halted, it can only be temporarily restrained.

This all serves as an answer to your question: today's socioeconomic situation has come about totally rightfully. It is no secret that dictatorial administrative methods of governing a society, in any country, not only in ours, are introduced, in principle, in complex situations: under armed conflict, natural catastrophes and the like. Keep in mind, for example, the World War, when everything was subservient to one idea - victory over the enemy! And the current situation would have come about anyway, because the people were demanding fundamental changes in attitudes toward socialism, changes in the methods of government action in our system. It was absolutely necessary to end the dictatorial administrative method of government, with dependency and equalization. Within our society there should exist a system which stimulates free work by people and satisfies their material and spiritual needs. And so, when we are able to conform to the principle of "what is good for the worker - is good for the society", only then will we be able to attain the established goal, because people will work with a sense of satisfaction.

Unfortunately, some of our Soviet, party and economic leaders have formed the opinion that today's deep changes in our society are nothing more than willfulness, errors in calculation, omissions, someone's "bright idea". But this is the expression of a historic trend, in other words this turn in our lives was inevitable - and it happened.

[Correspondent] What are your thoughts when you hear the words: "The Ukraine has not died, nor its fame nor its freedom. Fate will still smile on us, young brothers!"

[Plyushch] It gives me positive thoughts, after all every nation should develop, if its majority requires this, in keeping with its national, historic traditions, to repeat, like every other nation in our world.

[Correspondent] From the time of Yaroslav the Wise Ukraine has not known sovereignty (with the exception of some fleetingly short years). Perhaps it is better to leave things as they are? Why does it need sovereignty? [Plyushch] As the readers of your weekly are aware, 16 July of this year the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet voted to accept the Declaration of National Sovereignty of the Ukraine, and that in itself answers the first part of your question. To answer the second let us recall that the preamble to the Declaration states: "Expressing the freedom of the people of the Ukraine, striving to create a democratic society, stemming from the need to completely guarantee the rights and freedoms of individuals, honoring the nationality rights of all nationalities, instilling complete political, economic and spiritual development of the Ukrainian peoples, recognizing the necessity of creating a just country" - these are the reasons why the Ukrainian people need sovereignty. The question of sovereignty and independence is also foreseen in the preeminence of the republic's laws, as a nation, over those of the Soviet Union. As you recall, almost all the people's deputies of the republic voted in favor of the Declaration.

[Correspondent] Which sentence in the Declaration, whose acceptance was voted with your participation, is your favorite?

[Plyushch] I believe you would agree with me that all the delegates, including, of course, myself, have an opinion about each sentence, each word of this important document, after all that was how the voting was carried out, and by punching the "for" or "against" button each of us deputies immediately became a co-participant in the acceptance of the articles, the sentences of the Declaration.

Therefore everything stated in it pleases me, and as an official I will do everything to bring the principles of the Declaration into practice. As to the sentence which holds so much interest for you, let me quote it, from the second chapter of the document: "The Ukrainian peoples are the only source of government rule within the Republic."

[Correspondent] Which day of the preceding parliamentary session was the most difficult for you?

[Plyushch] If I am to speak openly, then most of the days of the first session of our parliament were difficult for me. Why? Think of the start of the session's work, the election of executive officers and the Soviet, then the absence for some time of the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet. Besides, all the residents of the Ukraine could see and hear under what conditions and the time required to discuss and ratify each document, and they have already reached their appropriate conclusion - I think it generally conforms to my answer.

[passage omitted]

[Correspondent] There exists a stage director's expression - "over-assignment". What is it, in your opinion, for the second session of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet?

[Plyushch] Such a term is appropriate in any human sphere of activity, including the work of the people's deputies. The current session of the Supreme Soviet of the republic, as we can see, is taking place under very complex sociopolitical conditions, and the most important problems have already been discussed fairly often, i.e.: it is absolutely necessary to stabilize the political and economic situation by ratifying a series of laws and programs regulating the transition to a market economy.

[Correspondent] And now, Ivan Stepanovich, tell us, please, about your childhood, your parents' home, the family in which you grew up, your native village. How were you educated? Do you remember any of your parents' or grandparents' aphorisms, do they serve you today, and will they be transmitted to your own children and grandchildren?

[Plyushch] I was born in Chernigov, in the town of Borzna in a village family. My parents grew up as orphans. My mother was cared for from childhood by a well-to-do aunt, who lived in a household which was fairly well off, for those times, in a house built towards the end of the 19th century. Later this building was deeded to my mother, and that was where I spent my childhood and young adulthood. Then came the war and the difficult post-war years. I remember, as if it were today, that there was not enough firewood, water froze in the house. I wanted to go out onto the streets, but there was nothing to wear. We, the children, were glad to get at least a heel of bread or a bit of sugar. My parents worked from morning until dark, and so I learned about life not only from them, but also from the people around me, with whom I spent my days and worked as a child. As a youngster my education consisted of learning to herd livestock, and as soon as I could hold a hammer I went to the kolhosp's stockroom office to make crates.

In the difficult post-war years our family, like many others, suffered through bad times. My father was forced to trade the pants he still had from the war for flour in Western Ukraine. My mother used the flour to cook gruel, whose taste I still painfully recall to this day.

I was not fortunate enough to have any grandmothers or grandfathers, and do not have much knowledge of my

ancestry, but I am not angry with my parents for this, which resulted from the turbulence of our lives. Everyone was concerned only with survival.

I remember my parents' aphorisms to this day. For example: "Do not bite off too much, or you will choke," "A teacher is not the one who teaches, but the one from whom you learn," and "Do not jump over the deep ravine, or you will drown," and others. Truly, each of them is deeply significant in life. My mother always taught me to respect people and never to forget that you live among them. She said that even at night, when you feel that you are totally alone in the world, still someone sees you. How much deep meaning there is in these enlightening words, do you not think?

Of course, my son grew up in totally different circumstances, but my wife and I raised him with a belief in the work ethic, even as a child and in his student years he earned money, doing whatever work he was able to do. Therefore, as an adult he respects his own and the work of others.

[passage omitted]

[Correspondent] I anticipate that during this session the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet will bring up the question of our national holidays. In particular, it will have to make a decision regarding the "legalization" of Christmas and Easter. Please tell us which button you will press in the voting?

What is your opinion as to the possibility of relinquishing to the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church some of the inactive cultural edifices, particularly in Kiev, such as St. Sophia and St. Andrew?

[Plyushch] I will vote "for". Let us think about the genesis of these religious holidays. All of them developed in the society over the ages, and should play a positive role in people's lives. For example, eating apples before the fall holiday of "Spasa" is not allowed - which is right, because apples are not ripe before that time. Older persons certainly should fast, as medics verify that in later years people should eat less animal products.

As to the transfer of the inactive cultural edifices to the faithful, specifically to the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, I believe the people themselves should decide this. A decision should be made which will satisfy the needs of most of the people. There can be no dictatorship in this.

[Correspondent] If next 22 January, millions of people again join hands to create a symbolic "living chain" of unity - will join their ranks, Ivan Stepanovich?

Do you think there will be enough enthusiastic hands to extend the current of unity of our people not only the distance from Lvov to Kiev, but perhaps Lvov-Kharkov, or even Uzhgorod-Lugansk? Would you like to see S. Hurenko among the people who hold hands in this human chain?

[Plyushch] I look at this question as a point of discussion. What would be the reason for such a symbolic "living chain"? If this is organized by purposeful people, to support the principles put forth in our Declaration, then I will stand in the ranks, as will other officials and deputies, including, possibly, the ones you mentioned. If there are other purposes and goals to this chain - then, of course, I will not be there.

[passage omitted]

[Correspondent] You are the namesake of the famous political activist, Hetman Ivan Stepanovich Mazepa. Tell us, does Mikhail Gorbachev remind you, in any way, of Peter I?

[Plyushch] I must tell you that I am also a countryman of the mentioned famous political activist and hetman of the Ukrainian nation. As to today's status of the President of the Soviet Union, I would say his task is more difficult.

[Correspondent] Some people leave their professions, such as sports (like Y. Vlasov), even literature or education (to become cooperators). Why does no one ever, of their own free will, leave politics?

[Plyushch] Possibly, each of us has his own thoughts on this question. I think that refusing political participation before would have been considered, first of all, as a breach of party discipline. After all, at all levels, the assignment to such and such a post, from the very lowest level leaders, would have come only with the recommendation of the party apparatus. Today, when officials are elected democratically to a post, they can, at any moment, of their own free will, hand in their resignation. Remember, this has already happened in the Leningrad City Soviet, and the Kiev City Soviet.

In addition, when politics becomes the goal of one's life, it is impossible to leave it, but if it is only a profession - then yes, you can leave. In a word, this question can be answered in various ways, depending on the way it is understood.

[Correspondent] At the time of Valentina Semenivna, they say, the buffet at the Supreme Soviet was better. Is there some kind of inference in this? Is it that the more democracy, the less fish and sausage?

[Plyushch] If we mention an even later period, then the buffet of the Supreme Soviet and the stores of Kiev had the same goods; it should be the same today. It is not democracy's fault that the counters are empty. It is the fault of the existing form of production, of the equalization and dependence. Most of us will agree that many of our current economic and social problems are a result of the government monopoly of ownership, which creates property belonging to no one, thereby eliminating the stimulus for highly productive work.

[Correspondent] Your electors do not ask you: where are the asphalt, the gas pipes, the water supply, the bricks, the trade centers, kindergartens you promised us during the election campaign?...

[Plyushch] First of all, I made no such promises to the electorate, although it was with just such requests that they most often approach me. It was always like this, except that no one wrote about it. In the times of stagnation, for example, highly placed officials would dictate the building of various industrial and cultural projects in certain places, whereas others remained as they were. But do we need a body of delegates to see this? No, the national delegates, taking into consideration the wishes and proposals of their constituents, should ratify those legal acts, which would be acceptable to all and would stimulate the labor of people, of free people, and then these requests will fall off.

[Correspondent] How long have you known of our newspaper? What makes it interesting for you? Is it proper that some small-time officials to tear into it on the farms, to call its readers extremists?

[Plyushch] Quite frankly, I have only recently become acquainted with your paper, and for lack of time I am unable to read through each issue of LITERATURNA UKRAYINA, which is true of other newspapers and magazines as well, but I read articles of current interest with pleasure. Since the circulation of your newspaper has quadrupled, it would be a sin not to read it, because a newspaper represents the position of a portion of its readers, and these are our people and we should be aware of their questions.

As to the fact that some officials do not like your reporting, I would add that this is true not only of yours, which is nothing unusual. We are all people, we can make mistakes, have doubts, have our own opinions as a result of some one or other event, express, after all, our emotions, our own level of culture - political leaders, and journalists, and officials, and laborers, and kolhosp workers. No one is intimidated because of a mistake. As the people say: he who does not work, makes no mistakes. People cannot be fooled, sooner or later they will learn who is who. It is important that none of our activities step over the line of legality. That would be the road to anarchy.

[passage omitted]

#### **Drach's Opening Speech to Rukh Congress**

91UN0258A Kiev KULTURA I ZHYTTYA in  
Ukrainian 28 Oct 90 p 3

[Speech by Ivan Drach: "The Political Situation in the Ukraine and Rukh's Task: The Second All-Ukraine Meeting of the Popular Movement (Rukh) of the Ukraine"]

[Text] This land, our mother, our suffering native land, somewhere along the course of the centuries lost her

name, the name she gave to herself. Our greatest historian and the first president of the Ukrainian National Republic, Mykhaylo Hrushevskyy, decided to call her as follows: "The History of Ukraine-Rus." But we still do not hear him today, and do not want to hear him. Rus-Ukraine would be the most suitable name for us. If we gave ourselves this name it would reduce many problems in historiography and politics, and even in the recent apparition of the "Rusyn" movement in Transcarpathia, which, of course, is inspired by Russian chauvinism. "You, brother, love Rus like bread and a piece of fat. I keep barking from time to time so that she won't sleep." "A poet like that—and he turned into a guard dog," Serhiy Paradzhanov said before his death. So, when we awaken in ourselves and around us not only the Ukraine, but Rus-Ukraine, extend our consciousness to encompass at least one thousand years, then we will reach the heights of sovereignty. As we build our state, the tree-top should be supported by the historical root. Gorbachev meets with Mitterand in Kiev—and again they take Rus away from us, tear out our historical heart, and throw it under the feet of the new empress, whose father, who recently died in Chernigov, liked to read the Kobzar and had the Little Russian name Tytarenko. Gorbachev reminded us of Malyshko's words: "My Ukraine, all I need is to hear your voice and to protect your gentleness." The voice of the Ukraine is very hard to hear now—it has become strained at meetings, grown hoarse and uncompromising; emotion often kills calm, measured thinking and our gentleness grew cold along with the students on the slabs of Independence Square.

The wheel of history spun in the blood of millions of corpses right here, in this one-sixth of the planet; this was because a new imperialistic reaction, masking as socialism, resurrected all the blackest, lowest, most savage instincts, including cannibalism, which humanity had struggled with such difficulty to overcome during its suffering history and threw itself into a merciless, ceaseless, permanent war with its own people—for this reason our path to liberation and return to the planetary family of nations is not and will not be easy. But we are destined to follow that path right to the victorious end unless we want to disappear forever from the face of the earth. The same is true of all the national columns that have been convoyed from one prison camp to another within this enormous GULAG. Although the camp-wide—that is, the union-wide—administration mixed the groups together to encourage International submissiveness, it did not succeed in entirely changing the God- or nature-given specific qualities of inborn uniqueness, separateness, and self-value; having maintained their essential national tokens and particularities, the nations did not allow themselves to be ground up into a homogenous mass of hopeless slaves, into living zombie-robots, into a flock of horrific, depersonalized golem-collectivists, which the mad International-Imperialists expected and still would like to see happen.

Thus, any objective historical, political, economic, social, or cultural analysis would inevitably lead us to the

same conclusion: only the total sovereignty of the Ukrainian people, a completely independent Ukrainian state, is appropriate given the present development of world civilization. Any other form of historical existence of the people, the nation, would leave it with no choices, no mercy, throw Ukrainian society out into the back yard of civilization, turn it into food, raw material, resources to be used for the further development of other nations which have their own states. This is the challenge that fate is sending us, this is the choice before which we stand. Either—or. We must understand this now, as we stand at the edge of the bottomless abyss of the union treaty. If our souls and minds are not yet completely mutilated and plundered, we are obliged to be horrified by the current situation of the Ukraine, to finally learn something from her thousand-year history. Let us look into one hundred eyes, into 50 million eyes.

We see, for some reason, rising and joining together against the independence and state sovereignty of the Ukraine all kinds of forces which even yesterday still appeared to be opposed to each other, people of various calibres and hues. From Gorbachev and the whole presidential retinue to his political opposites and opponents. From the CPSU and the Ukrainian Communist Party (which is clearly understandable) to several dozen Russian parties and groupings, which one of the builders (or rather, restorers) of the new socialist reich recently called on to create "for the provinces" an even more tricky, more casuistic union treaty. We see how yesterday's liberals and humanists, even some recent lights of culture, are jostling at the doors of the Kremlin offices, rushing to join together against "separatism and nationalism." We felt support and sympathy, and still do today, for the Russian patriots, who in the recent bad times fought for the rebirth of their motherland, and we were inspired by their courage and determination. We stood in solidarity with them. That is why we are now saddened to discover that the patriotism espoused by many of them includes such elements as hatred for non-Russians, a swaggering and arrogant disdain for the liberation struggles of the non-Russian peoples, and above all, the Ukrainians. The reflex to grab, acquired over several centuries, clouds even the brightest minds of our northern neighbors, making them surprisingly shortsighted and sometimes completely blind. There exists no serious problem which a future free Ukraine and free Russia would not be able to solve harmoniously. But only if they are free countries, independent of each other. This principle has already been outlined in the recent joint declaration by Ukrainian and Russian people's deputies. We expect that an independent, democratic Russia will agree to the existence of a democratic Ukraine, which is independent of her. On our side, we agree to the idea of the total independence of Russia from the Ukraine. We are ready to forgive and not reproach the Great Russians, into the literacy and culture, even the appearance on the historical arena of whom Ukrainians made a major contribution—to forgive and not reproach them for their historical disregard and lack of respect towards us: Ukrainians, as the older

brothers of the Great Russians, know how to forgive the arrogant behavior of those younger than themselves. But it is still odd to read the words of Russian dissidents, who were only recently expelled from their country, shouting to us from the pages of the communist party press: God forbid that you should renew your life, and if you do rebuild, then head for the strong arm of the Kremlin, do not crawl out of your misery and oppression. Would that it were only the Zinovievs, or the Edvard Limonovs doing this, but Aleksandr Isayevich Solzhenitsyn himself is trumpeting an advance against his concentration camp brothers: Ukrainians and Belorussians. Thus, we see the national imperialist idea in action, just as the defeated Denikin and Shulgin congratulated their bolshevik enemies for having renewed the "single and indivisible."

And this is good, for it blows away illusions, clears up the political situation, opens the eyes of those Little Russians in the Ukraine, who, owing to naivete or laziness, comfort themselves with the old belief that national rebirth can be begged out from Moscow. It is finally time to realize that Moscow does not listen to the tears, or wheedling, or groans of its victims, as it did not listen in 1918 or in 1933, and as it now dooms to death the Chernobyl hostages, observing with the gestapo-like detachment of a Menglele how much radiation and for how long a time hundreds of thousands of Ukrainian children can survive.

We must be ready for the fact that it will be against the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people that the imperial center will wage its strongest resistance. The Ukraine was and remains the breadbasket of the empire, one of the main sources of supply of living forces, cannon fodder and military technology for the major and beloved institution of power—the army; an endless source of highly-qualified, talented, and, unfortunately, obedient workers, engineers, scientists and officers for the maintenance of the military-industrial complex and the armed forces. The party-state strategists in the Kremlin understand this and they plant in the Ukraine their most devoted deputies.

Today, political and just plain human awakening is knocking at the door of every inhabitant of the Ukraine. The Donetsk miner, Lugansk chemist, Dnieper bank metallurgist, Kiev, Kharkov, Sumy machinist, Mykolaiv and Kherson ship builder, the conscientious and docile Poltava or Podillya grain and cattle farmer, the dweller of the coastline of the dying Black Sea or of the Dnieper, which has been turned into poisonous mud, not to mention those whose settlements have been transformed into an atomic leper colony by the cesium and strontium plague—none of us here, in the Ukraine, can hide any longer, close our eyes, cover our ears and fail to hear the knocking on all of our doors by disablement, national death, degeneration, nonexistence. The present regime, which speaks in the words of the proletarian hymn, cares not about us. And it will never care about us. It is not ours. However much a meat processing plant may be reconstructed, it still remains a meat processing

plant. Technological improvement can lighten the work of the staff or of the "collective management," allow the plant to enter the international market, increase profits, even "humanize" the barbaric slaughterhouse, but a people which cannot defend its own rights will always remain that plant's raw material. If anyone within the USSR or outside of it considers this comparison too brutal, let him test his gentlemanly or academic equilibrium with the following: hammer out like an auctioneer every million of the murdered citizens of the USSR, and in particular, the Ukrainian SSR, crying out, "who'll give more?" We, Ukrainians, have paid God and humanity an unbelievable price for our existence. And we have the right to not bring any more bloody sacrifices onto the altar of our independence, we have paid for it one-hundred-fold.

Are any additional arguments in favour of the establishment of an independent Ukrainian state still needed? Unfortunately, they are still needed. And the bitter truth is that they are needed for ourselves, for many among us. We seem to be still impressed by the warnings of the colonizers and our own countrymen-collaborators that the Ukraine cannot exist independent of the center for economic reasons. Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, even Albania, countries which lack important natural resources and are located on non-fertile land—they can exist independently. Papua-New Guinea, which was introduced to the world by our countryman Myklukha-Maklai, is also mature, and we are proud of that. The only country not ready to manage herself independently is our wealthy, 50-million-strong Ukraine, one of the founders of the United Nations. The vicious schizophrenia of that logic appears to still not be obvious to us all. The economists of the Ukraine will have to demonstrate (first of all, to themselves) with hard figures and calculations that Ukrainians have no lesser a possibility of managing themselves than our distant Papuan brothers, and are no less industrious than the dwellers of exotic tropical islands. The difficulty is that before we could implement a real economic system, we would have to create a counter-intelligence service to steal from Moscow, or the Ukrainian CP Central Committee Politburo complete and reliable information about our balance with the imperial center with regard to material resources, finances and other economic factors. It is understandable that these things are secret, for in the secret statistics is concealed the death of colonialism in the Ukraine, like the death of the dragon Kashchei on the tip of a needle. If one could get hold of the underground accounting of the CPSU and Ukrainian CP Central Committees, one would be able to show publicly and convincingly that, for example, for the support of their own national army, Ukrainian workers would pay significantly less out of each ruble they earn than for the present maintenance of the largest armed force in the world, that of the USSR. How many troops are stationed in the Ukraine's three military districts—that is something that the Kremlin, the party-colonial administration of the republic and the NATO countries know; the only ones who do not know are the Ukrainian people. They

just see that their land is groaning and bending under the weight of tanks and other military hardware, that there are more garrisons and field divisions, all armed to the teeth, than there were during the years of the German fascist occupation. The Ukraine is the only UN member which supports on its territory so many military bases which it does not use, and about the location of which it has no treaty with any other state. Soviet generals, who have been beaten in foreign adventures, are frightening their countrymen at every opportunity by repeating the old Prussian adage that a people which does not want to feed its own army will feed a foreign one. We agree with that, and that is why in the Ukraine we must have our own army.

Furthermore, Rukh and the democratic forces will attempt to make public information as to what share of the so-called GNP of the present Ukrainian SSR is taken up by military production, in order to uncover the dissimulation and hypocrisy that exist in the very application of the concept of military production with regard to the Ukraine. Not only the industries of the gigantic military-industrial complex, but even the so-called basic branches of the economy—extraction of coal and various ores, metal production, production of electric energy—all of these are owned by the northern fatherland, and Ukrainian workers give, for miserable pay, their labour, health, the well-being of their children in order to make possible the mad proliferation of unneeded and technologically-backward armaments, with which Moscow senselessly, showing a raging, pathological disregard, fills every continent for next to nothing, or even for free. The best crops of fields, gardens and orchards, the largest herds of cattle not only fail to improve, but consistently worsen the nourishment of the workers of the Ukraine, for they all disappear without trace into imperial storehouses, funds, reserves. To take everything to the last grain, the last bone, and later give workers and peasants a pathetic share as decided by the authorities—this is that most effective, truly diabolical method, perfected in the concentration camps, of keeping the working people permanently in obedience, the method discovered by the Bolsheviks and still practiced by them today. They should be given their due, this is truly their brilliant discovery, and if historians give first prize in this regard to the pharaohs, it must still be said that never in the course of history have the methods of taming, keeping and training domesticated animals been applied in such a consistent, brutal, and cynical way and on such a vast scale to people as was done and is done by the leaders of the Bolshevik party. However much bread, vegetables, meat, milk, sugar, clothing, footwear, heating fuel, energy, cast iron, iron and cement may be produced by the workers, they will never begin to live better until the Ukraine stops being a so-called union republic, until its people consolidate the sovereignty of their state according to international standards.

It is precisely in the refusal to reject the methods of total confiscation, of robbery of all the products of the labor of city and village producers, followed by a doling out to

each person of the means of existence with a ladle filled from the common pot, and this, selectively, depending on each one's obedience and humility, that the secret of the failure of restructuring lies. Those glib critics of the upper echelons of the communist party who complain that restructuring was started without a plan, without a clearly-delineated goal, without a general thought-out concept are totally wrong. On the contrary! The strategic "general line" has been maintained without deviation: to compel the people to work more and better, while keeping the present level of exploitation and maintaining labor at the lowest possible rate of pay, even by the standards of the third world. And that which the right and the left are now racing to call hesitation, half-measures, lack of decisiveness of the authorities is really nothing other than maneuvering, a stubborn, consistent, relentless search for the means to maintain, under the new conditions, all the products of labor and their distribution in party-state hands. Various "democratic" scenarios were tried out, various experiments were carried out at places of work, and if it ever happened that in the crafty "new models of economic activity" there opened a crack allowing for free work, free producers, the models were blocked in the General Headquarters of the regime.

Also understandable is the reason for the fussy restructuring reformism that we see among the imperial ruling class: the former, ideally-worked-out method of wholesale violence against workers, of repressive coercion and physical terror, became impossible to apply in the 1980s; it had depleted itself, if for no other reason, then because tens of millions of the best-qualified, creative and energetic members of society had been wiped out, and for the new, remaining, genetically-weakened generations, there had not been enough time to develop normal, natural relations. And all the talented people were pushed out of every branch of government from the top to the bottom—we need only recall the times of the three penultimate general secretaries. The system peopled by undeveloped, uncultured "cadres" still rejects thinking people—let us consider, for example, the spectacles of the most recent forums of the communist party both in Moscow and in Kiev.

All of this finally found its focus in the geometric programs, incomprehensible to the workers, put out by Abalkin or Shatalin, or in their hybrids. This was all planned to be incomprehensible, to make certain that nobody would catch a glimpse, through the quasi-scholarly wordiness, of this simple fact: that the authorities again want to save themselves at the people's cost from their malicious bankruptcy, to cover up the waste, the criminal dribbling away of the social wealth, to force the people by so-called economic means, that is, the threat of hunger and misery, to pull out of the historical mud the ruling oligarchy along with its Siamese twin—underground thieves and the criminal mafia. Having encountered a strong rebuff from the generals and weapons manufacturers and dealers, and organically unable to give up its military repressive foundation, the

regime has camouflaged within the so-called programs for a "regulated socialist market" an even more brutal exploitation of workers, with this innovation: now everyone will be compelled by "economic conditions" to tear his miserable share out of the hands of his neighbor. The insidiously planned war of all against all, while maintaining the rule of the party-state parasitic class over everyone, the incitement of workers against peasants and both together against the intelligentsia, the provocation of conflicts among nationalities and ethnic groups in order to facilitate the movement, or more precisely, the return from the now-weakened dictate to an open dictatorship—this is the true essence, strategy and tactics of the new economic reforms. This is the last peaceful attempt to save the empire. The categorical philippics of the President and General Secretary and his heralds against the republican declarations of sovereignty, the strained, pseudo-scientific justifications of a "single economic space" are nothing but an awkward masking of the centuries-old "single and indivisible."

It is now completely obvious that after several years of official fireworks about restructuring, after verbal maneuvers about new approaches or the "human factor," "critical stages," and "acceleration," and then just the opposite, "braking mechanisms," after the substitution of real matters with political blathering and wild attacks on "extremists," "destructive elements" and "separatists," yes, after all these troubles and worries of the restructuring authorities about themselves, about how to keep themselves in the saddle and again put the harness on the workers, in the summer of 1989 began the real restructuring, which was not expected by the authorities and was awaited by democratic forces: the appearance on the arena of political struggle of no less powerful a force than the working class. The miners strikes, well-organized and determined, really shook the party-state authorities. We well remember how the highest officials and the party press slandered the miners, how they incited workers of related industries and peasants against them and frightened people in the street with them. They accused the miners of group egoism. The miners know better, that under this cover they were later skilfully deceived by the party and the government. The democratic forces, particularly those in the Ukraine, do not have the billions of the CPSU or the CPU; they do not distribute sausages and footwear, building materials and other resources. We could offer the miners only our moral and political support, our solidarity, and this we did. The authorities succeeded in misleading the miners, frightening them, like Little Red Riding Hood, with the wicked wolf—Rukh. Who won out of this? Let the miners themselves answer.

We believe that this was the last success of the party-state bureaucracy in driving a wedge between the national and social-liberation movement in the Ukraine and the miners. Just as, ultimately, it was impossible for Gierek or Jaruzelski to block the path to the unity of the Polish workers' "Solidarity" and Polish democrats. Just as the

tsarist secret police did not succeed in forming its Zubatov and Gapon workers' organizations, which were to save tsarist autocracy.

However, this historical certainty and optimism do not prevent us today from seeing the subjective (definitely not objective!) factors which still stand in the way of a fruitful dialogue between the democratic Rukh and the new workers' movement in the Ukraine. These factors are found not only in Donbas, but also in Crimea and to some extent in Kharkiv, Dnipropetrovsk, Odessa—wherever we find the so-called Russian-speaking population. The loud, manipulative propaganda that was waged over many decades has had many successes—and it has managed to plant in the mass consciousness the monstrous idea that a person loses his blood roots, his nationality, his motherland, simply because he speaks the Russian language, although speaking English or French does not make the Canadian, or Congolese, or Zulu or Hindu an Englishman or a Frenchman. However, in the USSR, the Ukrainian or Byelorussian or Veps who, under the pressure of the wholesale introduction of only one language inside the empire, began to speak Russian, becomes subtracted from his own nation and added to the hegemonic nation. Thus we see carried out the infamous Stalinist "melding of nations," Brezhnev's "creation of a new historical society—the Soviet people"—in fact, the spiritual castration of non-Russians.

We do not consider that a Ukrainian who speaks Russian automatically loses his nationality, even if he has changed the designation in the 5th paragraph [of his internal passport]. And he certainly cannot be viewed as an enemy of his own people. We are pained by the fact that centuries of both bloody and bloodless coercive russification of the Ukraine compelled many of our fellow-countrymen to make a brutal choice between, on the one hand, survival, existence itself, misery and feelings of inferiority, and on the other, their mother tongue. The choice did not go in favor of the language. But while we respect the heroes who defend the life of their nations, it would be inhuman and unfair to reproach all those who did not become heroes. And as for limiting ourselves or bringing our nation together on the basis of only a single token, that of language—this is something that Rukh does not and will not do.

We suggest to the miners that they consider something else. The Donbass mines that were destroyed by the fascists were rebuilt by all of the Ukraine. Many people's parents were sent there by force in cattle wagons. All of the Ukraine is again ready to rebuild the coal industry, which is now spoiled by the communists; it will do it voluntarily, along with the miners, but this can be done successfully only if the government of the Ukraine ceases to be just a branch office of the Moscow government, which just carries out the orders of the Ministry of Mines, or some other imperial ministry. Sooner or later the miners of Donbass will understand this. Meanwhile, unfortunately, we are being forcefully brought together by the Russian- and Ukrainian-language party press:

recently it was calling the miners extremists, and today—the democratic forces. Let us wish the CPSU - Ukrainian Communist Party and their poisonous propaganda further success in uniting us with the miners.

We would like the miners to consider the following fact: on the morning of that memorable October 17, the communists in the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR were clattering their weapons and agitating for the Tbilisi scenario of "pacification" of students and youth. But when the column of workers arrived at the walls of the parliament and began to chant just the single word: "Ar-se-nal!", Gurenko's team suddenly became peace-loving and reasonable. The word "Don-bass!" cannot be allowed to be used in the way that the Romanian authorities made use of miners' power. And now both they and the miners are ashamed of it.

Similarly, it is not out of the interests of the workers that the campaign for the opposition of Crimea to the rest of the Ukraine has arisen, but rather, as the result of the insidious plan of the Kremlin politicos to instigate disagreements among everyone, wherever possible. We saw how the imperial center succeeded in applying this policy in Moldavia. Now they want to moldavize the Ukraine too. We know that the colonizers did this in Africa, Asia, Latin America, artificially dividing up territories that were liberating themselves and were about to become independent countries. Just as the racists of South Africa impose the will of the white minority on the indigenous population, so too the CPSU and its special agencies want to hand privileges to the so-called Russian-speaking minority in the Baltic region, in order to turn it into their partisan detachment, a fifth column in the battle against the national liberation movement. There are attempts to do this in the Ukraine as well. Hitler wanted to either eradicate or resettle various peoples of the USSR once it was conquered, and to settle the cleared out lands with Aryan colonists from the fatherland. What Hitler failed to do, Stalin successfully implemented in the Crimea, with regard to the Crimean tatars. We do not think that given the complex situation in present-day Crimea, the "white" population there will behave according to Stalin's program. If they do, we will have to admit that the mass of the people are mere toys, marionettes in the hands of tyrants and leaders, in the underhanded intrigues of the authorities. Such things happen only during brief periods of fear and blindness, for which the people later pay a high price. But now, we believe, the time has come for all to see clearly: friction, conflicts and fights among national groups are provoked by the imperial power. Is it possible that someone still does not understand this? Have the last few years not given enough proof?

Moscow, the Kremlin, the Old Square fear like fire anti-imperialist cooperation and the coming together of the multi-national population of every republic. And those who have allowed themselves to be caught on the authorities' hook, whether they be Ukrainian, Russian or Gagauz, Bulgarian or Polish, do not realize what they are doing. The empire will drive them into conflict with the

indigenous population for years to come, will extend this hostility into future generations. But the empire will fall, while our children and grandchildren will live. Let us not leave them in legacy the long knives and poisonous stings of today's "repulsive creatures," as Voltaire put it.

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One of the most pressing problems at the present stage of the Ukrainian national and state rebirth is inter-denominational conflicts. We can and will call on Greek Catholics and the faithful of the Eastern rite to show wisdom and fidelity, to stop the outbursts of family feuds in their parishes. We will place high above all the banners Shevchenko's words: "Embrace, my brothers, I pray you, I beg you!" But we will also have to examine the root of this sad outbreak of disagreement and breakdown of harmony among Ukrainians. And when we do, we will see that this problem is political. The three world centers of the Christian religion—Rome, Constantinople and Moscow—are playing politics on Ukrainian territory; they cannot or do not want to rise to the heights of their spiritual mission of salvation, and like ordinary, mortal, earthly rulers, are fighting for their sphere of influence in the Ukraine. And another, the most malicious, force must be added to this parallelogram of powers—the communist party. The party is deliberately creating the denominational cracks, in order to fill them with its explosives and blow up to bits Ukrainian national unity. Wise Myroslav Marynovych from Drohobych spoke deeply and convincingly on this topic. Keeping in mind their holy obligation to stop inter-denominational conflict, the democratic forces of the Ukraine will fight for the double, which is, in fact, the only, way out of this situation: that of an independent Ukrainian united state and an independent Ukrainian patriarch. When we attain a single Ukrainian home, we will be able to build a single Ukrainian temple: the temple of the Ukrainian Christian church. In other words, these two tasks must be carried out simultaneously.

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What should the strategy and tactics of the democratic forces of the Ukraine be from now on? First of all, let us state directly and openly that they are totally, consciously, in principle opposed to the strategy of the repressive party rulers who still hold power in the republic today. The strategic aim of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee, its faction in the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR (group 239) and its creatures in most of the oblasts is to stay in power at any price, to maintain rule over the people by whatever means are necessary, including psychological war, cold war against the democratic forces and police clubs, tanks, sappers' shovels. But our strategy does not foresee seizing power and it follows only the peaceful path of consolidating the sovereignty of the Ukrainian people. In contrast to the Ukrainian Communist Party, we do not impose our rule on the people; we do not call on the workers to follow our lead to a bright, but never attainable, future. We do not

deceive anyone with deeply insulting, hypocritical promises to "feed the people." It is the people who feed everyone, including the CPSU, and care for the party more than for their own children, following the 72-year-old principle that "all the best goes to the bolsheviks", leaving almost nothing for the normal sustenance of the working forces or even the biological development of the people. We see our strategy and tactics in going to the people, taking in their misery and pains, their longings, their current and historical interests and turning these things into political action. We will not imitate the bolsheviks, who seized power through conspiracy and bloody coup d'état and then turned it against the people. Democratic forces can take power only at the will of the workers and their future rule must be under the people's control. This is rule by political forces which compete among themselves to find better ways to make the society flourish. Our political strategy does not include the bolsheviks' insane attempts at political hybridization, their experiments at breeding unprecedented state structures and methods of organizing society by using cannibalistic techniques of ideological, psychological, economic and social engineering in order to breed the "new person" made according to their mold. We are fighting for the introduction into the Ukrainian state of the institutions, structures and procedures that have been tested by contemporary civilization and which can be counted on to guarantee human rights and free work for all.

These principles logically and inevitably set the line of the tactics of our political battle. They include making use of all treaties recognized by international law, the United Nations, the Helsinki Agreements and methods of non-violent but determined defense by the people of their inalienable rights. The arsenal of our peaceful means of struggle will include methods taken from the golden treasury of national liberation movements, in particular, various forms of civil disobedience which have been blessed by Mahatma Ghandi, Martin Luther King and other great sons of humanity. We will study and apply the victorious experience of the Polish "Solidarity" and the Czechoslovak citizens' forum, the experience of patriots in Namibia and supporters of Nelson Mandela. All of this should be added to the achievements of our own Ukrainian national liberation struggle and should help us to avoid past mistakes. We will also work with all elected bodies, from the parliament of the Ukraine to village councils, to make certain that they do not go back to being mere divisions of various party committees of the CPSU or of so-called "party forums." Any desperate attempts to bolshevize the councils, that is turn them into dead bodies, should not be allowed to succeed.

Against the repression and terror of the penal and military organizations of the CPSU—the KGB, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the army—we will also apply extra-parliamentary methods of struggle, in union with the people, because the police state created by the party is directed not only against democratic activists. Its main

target is the worker who wishes to live in dignity, like a human being. Strikes, meetings, demonstrations, pickets, petitions, refusal to pay taxes, to participate in the illegal expropriation by the party-state of agricultural and industrial production under the guise of state orders and so-called socialist obligation, suspension of payment for community services—all of these and other actions are an effective weapon for the liberation of workers, especially now, when the serf-creating guidelines of the so-called economic reform are aiming for an even greater impoverishment of the people. We will make every effort to prevent the people's property, which is now nobody's, anonymous, from being transformed, legally registered as private property in the names of the party elite and its siamese twin, underground organized crime. The facts and the laws that are being passed by party, Komsomol and economic magnates in the Supreme Soviets of Moscow and Kiev confirm the fact that this secret process of transforming party-state feudal-socialists into the first social-capitalists, industrialists and bankers has already begun. Ninety percent of workers have not yet acquired any property and the president has already published a decree about the inviolability of property, rushing to protect the property of the party-mafia.

We are not an irreconcilable opposition. We are being stubbornly, shortsightedly pushed onto the path of irreconcilability in our defense of the rights of the people by the hardheaded bolshevik obstinacy of the anti-people authorities. But their stubbornness is the policy of the blind, as the collapse of the Eastern European branches of the CPSU has demonstrated. For the authorities are pushing onto the path of irreconcilability workers, peasants, the intelligentsia, even kindergarten teachers. Not wanting to share with the people the wealth created by and taken away from them, this party regime will itself lose everything.

Four or five years ago, policy could still be the art of the possible. Today it has become the study and practice of the inevitable, the un-postponable, and that is, the salvation of the people. We see with joy how all the thinking forces in the society, the talented, the hardworking, the energetic, those with initiative are entering the democratic ranks. Truly, the time of intellect and courage has arrived in the Ukraine. The coming together of the forces of the educated, progressively-minded working class, the scientific and technical intelligentsia, specialists of agriculture, culture, education, medicine and mass media in every city, rayon, oblast and in Kiev will significantly increase the effectiveness of the help we can provide to the Ukrainian people in obtaining sovereignty and improving their existence.

We have nothing to fear: neither the attempts to frighten people with the prospect of civil war, nor the already-apparent moves towards the emergence of familiar, although personally different, party-state leaders with dictatorial claims. We need not fear parliamentary twisting of the truth or bureaucratic paper-shuffling, nor a return to the bloody anti-sovietism of 1918 and later, to the instinct to regard any opponents through the sights

of a rifle or a barred window. Neither should we complain about the slowness of the growth of national and social consciousness in various segments of Ukrainian society, about people's passivity. If in the Ukraine, as in the midst of other nations of the empire, strong democratic forces had not arisen, or if they were now to give up their struggle, the old regime would drive every citizen to such extremes of inhuman existence of himself and his family that self-defense against the insane state would become inevitable. But when spontaneous protest, the natural and invincible human drive to freedom and happiness, is united with organized political forces, the progress of history becomes less brutal, less merciless, although it still remains irreversible.

Let us end with the words of our famous knights: "With us is St. George and the Blessed Mother!"

The authorities want to deceive us with their lies—we will oppose them with knowledge of the truth; let us learn and let us teach others.

The authorities want to divide us—let us oppose them with the unity of our democratic forces.

The authorities are trying to turn our attention to secondary issues—let us oppose them by understanding the essential.

The authorities are implementing economic and ideological chaos—let us oppose them with the organization of our ranks.

The authorities threaten us with the Beijing scenario—let us oppose them with fearlessness and endurance on the pattern of Prague.

For unity, knowledge, organization, endurance and fearlessness in the battle for the rule of the people.

For the life, well-being and culture of the people.

For a wealthy, independent, democratic Ukraine.

Long live Rukh as a structure which constantly renews itself!

**LONG LIVE THE UKRAINE!**

#### **Ukraine Official Favors 'Common New Rules'**

*91UN0352A Kiev KOMSOMOLSKOYE ZNAMYA  
in Russian 30 Oct 90 p 3*

[Interview with V.B. Grinev, deputy chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, by Vadim Dolganov, KOMSOMOLSKOYE ZNAMYA parliamentary correspondent; place and date not given: "V.B. Grinev: 'We Have a Constitutional Crisis'"]

[Text] The dialogue between KOMSOMOLSKOYE ZNAMYA and Vladimir Borisovich Grinev, deputy chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, began back in August. The interview published back then dealt with the nature of the new treaty between the Union republics

and economic reform. More than two months have elapsed. And now a new meeting with Grinev.

[Correspondent] I would like to begin our interview with a topic "suggested" by all-Union members of parliament. The recent decisions of the USSR Supreme Soviet concerning the priority of Union laws over republic laws virtually cancel out the declarations on state sovereignty which have been adopted by more than just the Ukraine. What do you think on this score?

[Grinev] Literally a few days ago the Ukrainian Parliament adopted a number of revisions to the republic constitution which cancel out such positions of Union legislation. It has been declared unambiguously that any Union law, presidential edicts included, should be checked against the Declaration on State Sovereignty. And their ratification is required. That is, these amendments unequivocally interpret the whole political situation in the Ukraine in favor of the republic. No legislative instrument conflicting with the declaration will take effect with us. The USSR Supreme Soviet has adopted a legislative instrument that is fundamentally contradictory. There is a constitutional crisis within the framework of the old Union.

[Correspondent] What will the further development of events be?

[Grinev] I have already told you that two processes may be traced currently. The shaping of new legislation on the basis of the Declaration on State Sovereignty and the demolition of the old structures, which will continue to attempt to reanimate themselves. These are both presidential authority and the USSR Supreme Soviet. But, I repeat, these are structures in demolition. They have no future. What is needed today is a prudent policy which ensures that these structures wither away gradually, without an explosion. And the growth of that which is new must not diverge from the highway. That is, we should increase legislative efforts at the republic level while simultaneously coordinating them with the gradual demolition of the old institutions of power. I believe that the present constitutional crisis will be resolved in the very near future in favor of the parliaments of the republics.

There is one point to which I would like to call attention here. We are today proclaiming a certain skepticism in respect of the Union treaty. But there has to be a legislative instrument depriving the old structures of the power they possess. From this standpoint I am for us devising without delay common new rules of the communal life of the peoples in the space where all the republics exist. This problem has been discussed at a meeting with members of parliament of Russia also. We must create rules of joint living in the economic and political spheres. Whence the conclusion: The call "No to the Union Treaty!" without a vision of the prospects of the association of sovereign states objectively works in favor of the old ways.

[Correspondent] You speak about diarchy. But does it not seem to you that the old structures of executive power penetrating the economy and policy from top to bottom are now standing in the way of reforms?

[Grinev] We have probably not yet fully grasped what executive power is. We have declared: All power to the soviets. But, after all, without sufficiently debugged executive power, this is nonsense. Even the Supreme Soviet does not have any real power in this case. We believed initially that the democratic forces had to obtain a majority in the soviets. But that there could in the executive authorities be the old structures also. This was a profound mistake. Executive authority today is the principal element of both success and impedance, depending on how it is structured and what its rules of relations with the legislative authority are. What do I like about Yeltsin? The added fact that he has paid the closest attention to the formation of an executive authority in the shape of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Council of Ministers. New people have arrived, new ideas have surged forth, and new structures have arisen. Life is bubbling over there. Parliament's interaction with the Council of Ministers is close and effective. I have seen this for myself. Unfortunately, in the Ukraine we are currently observing a different process. Our executive has not been reformed.

[Correspondent] Does it not seem to you in this connection that, in the event of the establishment of the concept of transition to the market which is being discussed in our parliament currently, the old structures of executive power will strengthen? I refer to the section of the concept which confirms the need for the existence of sectoral ministries.

[Grinev] Quite right. The old concept of executive authority was based on rigid vertical structures. There are even now quite a few supporters of a re-creation of this system. This, it seems to me, is a serious delusion. Nothing can be achieved by a strengthening of vertical structures. Only a return to a totalitarian system of management of the economy. This is the legacy of our Marxist-Leninist ideology, which has naturally led to a centralization of management "in the name of the good of the people." It is essential to seek stabilization by way of the launching of horizontal relations. The concept should have, in my view, two mechanisms: a growth of horizontal and the demolition of vertical structures.

[Correspondent] But they do not exist as yet.

[Grinev] I have already said that the Rubicon which the Ukraine will cross is the content of the economic reform. We must understand that the future of the republic is based on three "biggies": sovereignty, economic reform—the re-creation of the conditions for normal market relations—and political reform—a multiparty system and the demonopolization of power. We have now come to reform of the economy.

[Correspondent] Nonetheless, the agreement on cooperation with Russia will be signed by the Council of Ministers.

[Grinev] But parliament has already heard the demand: All interrepublic agreements at the executive authority level must be ratified in the Supreme Soviet. Unfortunately, in terms of qualifications parliament does not yet have a command of the economic situation in the Ukraine. That is, it is still a dilettante in the sphere of the activity of the executive. But this does not mean that parliament must remain aloof from these problems. What happened with Russia was a forced move inasmuch as we had dragged out the signing of an agreement between the parliaments. But I am sure that many points will be amended.

[Correspondent] Incidentally, much is being said about interparliamentary contacts with Russia, but there are no results in sight as yet.

[Grinev] That is why we have the agreement between the governments—a practical result. And in the next few days an agreement will be signed on the principles of the republics' relations at parliamentary level.

[Correspondent] Has the joint commission announced at your joint news conference with Isayev begun to operate?

[Grinev] Yes, although it has not yet been constituted.

[Correspondent] I would like to know some details of your negotiations with the Defense Ministry concerning our boys' service in the Army.

[Grinev] This was the Ukraine's first official delegation for negotiations with the center. Up to a certain moment we were not perceived as being such on the part of the Union. We held talks in the USSR Supreme Soviet—with I.D. Laptev, R.N. Nishanov, and others. Our first impression from the negotiations in the Defense Ministry was that they were not taking us seriously. But after we had literally issued the ultimatum that unless the Ukrainian Parliament's decision of 10 October on the youth's service on the territory of our republic were complied with, the Defense Ministry would be wholly responsible for the scuttling of the draft from the Ukraine, the discussion took a different tack. The phenomenon of the negotiations is the fact that the republic began to participate fully for the first time in the shaping of Union forces. This had hitherto been the prerogative of the Defense Ministry. We began to agree on the quota together. We stated that we wished to know precisely what number of young men of the Ukraine would serve in forces for the strategic defense of the Union and on what grounds. We agreed to facilitate a voluntary draft and the fulfillment of the quotas on the basis of our own understanding of the process. Ultimately the Defense Ministry adopted quite a benevolent position. The military declared that it would dispatch its emissaries to the districts to canvass on behalf of the voluntary principle and agreed to a sharp reduction in the quotas.

[Correspondent] But when this was being agreed, the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet decree of 17 October appeared.

[Grinev] We found ourselves in a very difficult situation. The delegation had negotiated on the basis of the decisions of 10 October, which had dealt with quotas. We therefore broke off the negotiations and returned to Kiev for consultations. It was ascertained here that there was no unequivocal interpretation of the voluntary concept. When would this principle prevail: as of the fall or the spring draft? Decisions cannot be adopted without there being an unequivocal interpretation of them.

[Correspondent] How might this problem be settled?

[Grinev] A solution may be found even now within the framework of the voluntary approach, but given strict compliance with the Law on Compulsory Military Service. We would confront draftees with the dilemma of either serving here, in the Ukraine, but in construction units, for example, or outside of the republic, but in "elite" forces—Air Defense, the Air Force, and Airborne Forces. The choice will not, I believe, always be made in favor of the construction battalion. But, I emphasize, we will no longer send boys outside of the Ukraine to serve in other than strategic forces. All this is practicable, if mechanisms of executive authority begin to operate.

[Correspondent] Conducting a draft, it seems to me, this is the prerogative of the executive, not legislative, authority.

[Grinev] Undoubtedly. But it should not be forgotten that the legislative authority also must create for the executive the necessary conditions for activity.

[Correspondent] We should not in the ardor of the parliamentary battles lose sight of the ongoing political events. I am talking about the miners' congress and the Rukh assembly. I would like to hear your viewpoint on this score.

[Grinev] The miners and members of Rukh are representatives of serious and important political forces. The miners are declaring that their sector can only function at the Union level. They are thereby essentially confirming the logic of the Union's existence. This opinion is the polar opposite of that expressed at the Rukh assembly. We cannot today be led around by the opinion of one group. I therefore support a detailed sociological analysis of the views of different groups of the population and political groupings.

[Correspondent] I would now like to ask a few questions of a personal nature. In the last interview you spoke about your resignation from the CPSU. Now, as far as I know, you are a member of a party of democratic accord?

[Grinev] Yes, it has a name—the Democratic Progress Party. It is being organized by supporters of the Democratic Platform, in the main. Constituent conferences

have been held in many oblasts, and a congress is planned for the beginning of December.

[Correspondent] Do you consider it possible to be a member of some party while acting as deputy chairman of the republic Supreme Soviet?

[Grinev] I am not a supporter of the parliamentary leadership being nonparty. Let us get used to the fact that political forces organizationally structured in parties operate in society. That the CPSU is not a party but a state structure and the skeleton of a totalitarian system built according to its own rules is another matter. Our new party, on the other hand, occupies a center position in the Supreme Soviet and is attempting to propound such ideas. Specifically, the idea of the creation of a conciliation commission came from Vladimir Filenko, a leader of the Democratic Progress Party.

[Correspondent] You are new in the structures of power. On the basis of what information do you organize your work?

[Grinev] I receive some kinds of information as deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet. Not, I believe, what Kravchuk receives, of course. There is a certain level of information to which I am not privy. There are, besides, letters from the localities—there are many of these. Contacts with the electorate. A very important stream of information comes from the press. Earlier we took a skeptical view of it, but now the press is truly becoming a medium of mass information.

[Correspondent] Do you receive information from the special services?

[Grinev] Yes. For example, I read with great pleasure an assessment of the prospects of our enterprises' cooperation with overseas partners and an evaluation of the activity of foreign firms. The finding that some firms are impeding our move onto the world market with science-intensive products is important. I generally believe that very serious analysts work in our special services.

[Correspondent] Do you have favorite periodicals?

[Grinev] I keep track of a large number of papers. PRAVDA, say. I disagree with many of its political opinions, but I glean information from it also. I have my favorite papers. I like KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA and KOMSOMOLSKOYE ZNAMYA. True, Shcherbak wrote in an issue of your paper that it was time to change its name. Perhaps it is. But it is not a question of name but of essence. I really like these two papers.

[Correspondent] Do you listen to radio from "over the hill"?

[Grinev] Until recently Liberty, Voice of America, and the BBC supplied fundamentally new information. Now the situation has changed. Listening to them now, I try not to miss the analytical roundups. I believe that we should attract the analytical services of the West. I would happily commission this service of Radio Liberty to

analyze certain phenomena in the Ukraine. I made the acquaintance of employees of this radio in Amsterdam. They study all our 1,300 newspapers and journals, incidentally.

### Transcaucasus

#### Armenian CP Resistance to Depolitization

91US0104A Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA  
in Russian No 46, 17 Nov 90 p 2

[Article by SOVETSKAYA KULTURA staff correspondent I. Verdiyan, Yerevan: "Has the Time Come?"]

[Text] Literally on the eve of the November holiday, the Supreme Soviet of the republic adopted a resolution "On Depolitizing State Organs, State Enterprises, Offices, Organizations, Educational Establishments, and Military Units of the Republic of Armenia."

Actually, this did not come as a surprise. Shortly before the adoption of the resolution, the law-enforcement organs, the KGB, and the Academy of Sciences proclaimed themselves, so to speak, depolitized... Thus, the recent decision was a generalization, and nothing more than that.

The Communist Party of the republic issued a sharply worded statement on this topic. I admit it came across strong given that the party has virtually not been heard from since the time it lost power and has been waiting for something. Has the time come?

However, let us look at Communist Party objections to the national parliament in some more detail.

The statement said that the resolution adopted contravened Article 49 of the Constitution of Armenia on the right of the citizens of the republic to unite in public organizations which are guaranteed conditions for the successful accomplishment of their statutory tasks. Such resolutions amending the Constitution in effect should be adopted by two-thirds of the number of deputies rather than by a simple majority.

The statement went on to stress that this decision, running counter to the laws in effect, "may be considered an attempt to destabilize the situation in the republic, sow seeds of mistrust of the Communist Party and other socio-political organizations, hamper the processes of democratization, and create in the republic a totalitarian system for suppressing human rights and freedoms."

The Communist Party proposed to suspend the effect of this resolution and to consider urgently the draft law on public organizations submitted to the Supreme Soviet by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia.

The issue is that communists account for almost one-half of the deputies in parliament. Only 10 of them voted against the above resolution. Perhaps, the Communist

Party should have taken a position on the defeatist stance of deputies carrying party membership cards in their pockets. Since this was not done, one got the impression that the party was tolerant of the behavior of its representatives in the parliament. However, could this be putting a good face on a bad situation?

Let us recall something else. Two years ago, the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet banned and dissolved the "Karabakh" Committee. This time around, the Communist Party itself ran into bans, which it was fond of imposing during the seven decades of its rule.

Let bygones be bygones. Processes are developing, and, apparently, the Communist Party will have to learn how to make its presence known from the opposition benches as well.

Objections have been raised. What next? Is it really necessary to refresh in the memory Lenin's directives dating back to pre-revolutionary times, the book "What Is To Be Done?", especially Chapter 5... So, do we erase it and start all over?

Little time remains until the final stage of the Communist Party of Armenia. It should be expected to work out an action program under new conditions. Incidentally, a congress of the Armenian Pannational Movement, whose members have come to power, will be held almost at the same time. This is also remarkable.

One thing is clear and definite: They cannot sit it out in the trenches, as used to be the case. This is why I think that political life in Armenia will soon come to a boil.

### **Handling, Allocation of Armenian Quake Recovery Funds Criticized**

*91US0095A Moscow TRUD in Russian 11 Nov 90 p 2*

[Article by G. Karapetyan, TRUD correspondent in Yerevan: "Even Charity Requires Accounting: The Disaster Area—What Rubles and Dollars Have Been Spent for in Armenia"]

[Text] "What have you done to help ruin Armenia?"—almost two years ago this question on a poster at a Moscow VUZ [higher educational institution] stopped me in my tracks.

At that time virtually all of us did what we could. We urgently collected warm things, food and medicine and sent them to the earthquake zone. But universally and most of all we donated one day's pay, a part of or all of our pension, an honorarium or our personal or family savings to the bank accounts which were quickly announced... And people did this not just in our country, but around the world: the sums of rubles and foreign currency collected grew rapidly.

However, the further 7 December 1988 recedes into the past the more we are finding out about the details of the obvious failure of recovery efforts in the earthquake zone: many of the area's residents are spending their

third winter living in tents. More and more often we are asking ourselves: when and by whom will it be made clear just how much money, both Soviet and foreign, was received by Armenia and for what specific purposes that money has been spent over the past two years. Various rumors abound: that the money was stolen, spent for purposes not intended, squandered on useless projects, etc. I think that these very detailed tables, which were compiled from data provided by the republic Ministry of Finance, will finally put these widespread rumors to rest. Without going into unnecessary detail, I would like to say that in spite of glasnost we journalists have for some reason failed to tackle this truly sensitive topic. But I am sure you will agree that even charity requires both clarity and precise accounting.

At one meeting with the press in Yerevan in 1988 N. I. Ryzhkov, USSR Council of Ministers chairman, said (remember, this was on 19 December): "About hard currency funds. They are concentrated in two places—in Armenia itself and in Moscow, at the Foreign Economic Bank. At the present time we still do not know how much money this will be, because donations continue to be received. How are we planning to spend this money? This question has been discussed with Armenia's leaders. All the hard-currency funds which have been received or will be received in the future from states, individual firms and private citizens will be turned over by us in full to the Armenian Republic. In full, to the last kopeck... All these funds will be used to purchase medical equipment for the hospitals, clinics and maternity centers which must be rebuilt in the disaster area."

Pardon the lengthy quotation, but it is of importance in my naturally subjective thoughts on this matter. The head of the Soviet Government, who spent weeks in the disaster area, literally with his own hands straightened out the tangled mechanism for emergency assistance and went for days without sleep, in my opinion gave not only the people of Armenia but our whole country the feeling for the first time that we finally had a real prime minister, master of his own words and actions. And indeed, as he said two years ago, Moscow has since then not diverted a single kopeck or penny from a republic which is in a dire socioeconomic crisis. This should be remembered today, though Nikolay Ivanovich probably has not forgotten the content of the handbills distributed in those December days throughout the whole of anguished Armenia: countrymen, do not believe Moscow—donate all your money, rubles or dollars, solely to banks in Yerevan...

American multimillionaire Armand Hammer personally handed over a check for "his" million dollars to the local leaders in office at that time. Famous singer Charles Aznavour did something different: the largest Armenian community in the world, in France, collected funds in a specially created fund named for this respected individual. Cancelling his concerts for the past two years, he has repeatedly flown from Paris to Yerevan, Leninakan (now called Kumayri) and Spitak on cargo planes carrying everything that is vitally needed by the thousands

and tens of thousands of unfortunates who are still homeless. Just recently, during an unofficial trip to the United States the new Armenian Supreme Soviet chairman, Levon Ter-Petrosyan, personally accepted from the U.S. State Department a bank check for \$10 million to be used for recovery efforts in the disaster area, money which had been "frozen" in the wake of the handbills and appeals.

After working for 18 months as TRUD correspondent in Armenia I am convinced that the rumors and misunderstandings could have been avoided if a general account for absolutely all the funds had been established in Yerevan in a timely manner instead of with such substantial tardiness. In that case there would have been no need to transfer hard-currency donations there from Moscow, or more precisely, from the USSR Foreign Economic Bank, concerning the "secret" operations of which many people in Armenia are beginning to ask questions (I have heard them myself)—and questions like that are the precursors of more rumors. The main question is this: have all the millions of dollars now been transferred to the republic? Unfortunately I must report that T. Alibegov and V. Lyulchev, deputy chairmen of the board of our country's Foreign Economic Bank, "did not wish" (as I was told by their secretary-aides) to grant a current interview on this subject to a TRUD correspondent.

Nonetheless even without their help I was able to find out the goals and size of expenditures involving the donated funds. In regard to these figures I must note several caveats right at the start. Firstly, I was told by the republic Ministry of Finance that no individual addresses were used. Secondly, nevertheless I did discover a short list (specifically, donations to certain hospitals) of specially-earmarked donations. Thirdly, some all-union social and political organizations and major organizations, whose names I do not wish to reveal for ethical reasons, suddenly tried to get back the funds which they had previously donated to the "general fund." Why? To provide additional payment to their colleagues at the local level. Naturally Armenia resisted this sort of bureaucratic "egoism."

For fairness' sake I should relate an unprecedented case in which 2,000 donated rubles were returned. Consent to their return was signed by the head of the republic government himself after the following note was received from doctors beyond the Urals: "At the time she made her financial contribution L., a patient in disability group two, was in a state of mental distress... as a result of her illness she now requires material assistance and requests the return of..."

This request was granted. Naturally this little-known case in no way affects the Armenian people's sincere gratitude to the world community and the Soviet people for their charity and humane attitude toward our republic in its hour of need. In this republic no one has

to be reminded of the billions allocated by the union government and by virtually all ministries, agencies and union republics.

And how has the mechanism for spending the millions of rubles and dollars listed in the tables below functioned and how is it presently functioning? Local experts explained to me that the system works like this: republic ministries and agencies submit numerous work orders to Armenian Gosplan, where they are "sorted out" and conclusions on the appropriateness of the requests prepared. Then on a selective basis these are carefully considered by a special commission of the republic Supreme Soviet which is in charge of compliance with social justice and glasnost in regard to expenditure of funds collected for earthquake recovery efforts (such a commission actually exists!). Specific implementation of all ruble or dollar expenditures takes place following an appropriate decision by the Armenian Government with the consent of the aforementioned commission.

As for what happens next and how economically and competently officials handle the funds which they receive, and whether those funds collected around the world are used for specific and necessary tasks aimed at achieving a high degree of effectiveness is not for me or anyone else who has contributed his or her hard-earned rubles to judge; that is up to the Armenian people.

Each one of us would definitely like to receive, say, a thank-you postcard saying that a certain sum placed in bank account #700412 helped (exact name and address) to clothe orphans, treat the injured, or find new apartments for those who lost their homes in the disaster... I do not know how other countries handle these reciprocal tokens of gratitude for assistance rendered to those in need, but up until now we have not come up with anything except collective letter greetings "on behalf of and at the instructions of." A pity.

Well, there is at least one unique individual who intentionally has not taken part in anonymous, vague and personally intangible aid to Armenia. Washington Kishmishyan, a cooperative member from Elektrostal, outside of Moscow. He himself was not untouched by the "Black December" of 1988: 18 members of his large family in Leninakan did not survive. The Kishmishyans decided to help their countrymen, but not like the rest of us, by contributing to the "common fund." Their son Yerem, an aspiring artist, began to sell postcards he had drawn himself, and the family collected money earned by the other members of this kind family working in a cooperative.

One year ago, after collecting a substantial sum, Kishmishyan sent a letter to the Leninakan City Soviet requesting that he be given a parcel of land measuring 40 meters by 50 meters upon which to build the "Podmoskovoye Kindergarten" for 50 children. Furthermore, this amazing "contractor" took upon himself the design and financing of construction, found and paid for building

materials and hired a construction crew. The kindergarten was supposed to receive furnishings and equipment from Italy, and all the proper conditions were created for children's musical and artistic training. Essentially, the kindergarten was to be turned over to the city authorities ready for immediate use.

Last spring, without waiting for a reply, Kishmishyan withdrew all the money he had collected from his savings bank, sold his car and the family valuables and with a briefcase full of banknotes—120,000 rubles in all—flew to Leninakan. I will not go into all the obstacles created by heartless local bureaucrats (and we thought that at least common misfortune would improve them!).

Spending all of last summer in a hotel (at his own expense, naturally), Kishmishyan went several times each day from the gorispolkom to Zakavkazskoye Regional Construction Administration #17, a part of the all-union Spetsstroymash Trust, whose production facility (a small concrete-molding plant) was located on the parcel of land allocated for the kindergarten. Kishmishyan the optimist came to the point where he has considered "redirecting" his charity to Spitak, Kirovakan or Stepanavan, where virtually all the kindergartens were destroyed and where local women are forced to stay home from work because there is no one to look after their children.

Sh. Agabekyan, a colleague of mine from the republic newspaper GOLOS ARMENII who "discovered" this amazing individual for me, reported to me just before this article went to press that it seems (though the telephone connection with Kumayri was cut off) that Kishmishyan's noble idea is now finally beginning to be realized.

If it is that difficult to build a kindergarten, then what will happen to all the millions with all the turmoil we have here?

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A total of 1.4 billion rubles have been contributed to account #700412. In accordance with permission granted by a CPSU Central Committee Politburo commission and upon instructions from the Armenian Council of Ministers the following expenditures were made in 1989-90:

**Restoration and Reinforcement of Construction and Building Materials Industries' Physical and Technical Base (in millions of rubles)**

Restoration and repair work	288.0
New construction	114.5
Equipment acquisition	66.0
Planning at damaged sites	56.8
Removal of rubble	10.0

**To Republic Gosagroprom (in millions of rubles)**

To pay off debts to suppliers and contractors of completely destroyed agricultural and industrial enterprises	131.0
Equipment acquisition	26.0
Paid out for tents, yurts and small houses	21.0
Livestock acquisition	12.0
Reimbursement for price difference for seed potatoes purchased outside the Armenian Republic and from the public	11.1
Planning and survey work	5.8
Paid out for trailer homes	109.4
Free distribution to the public of food, clothing, grain products, coal, firewood, stove fuel, petroleum products and tents, rendering of services, provision of transportation and other expenditures (allowable limit—100 million rubles)	94.1
Paid out in salary to employees of enterprises and organizations damaged in the earthquake	61.7
Planning and construction of access and freight roads, development of freight yards and railroad sidings; intensification of rail capacity	49.8
Reimbursement for damages to uninsured fixed capital and goods belonging to the Azerbaijan Union of Consumer Cooperatives	25.9
Money transferred to Azerbaijan Trade Union Council for one-time aid payment to earthquake victims	15.0
Reimbursement of expenses for highway construction and repair	13.7
Miscellaneous expenses	8.9
Payment of natural gas debts unlikely to be recovered	4.6
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1,125.3 billion rubles</b>
Remaining in fund as of 1 October 1990	274.7 million rubles

Account #700412 at the Yerevan Branch of the USSR Foreign Economic Bank had received 34.9 million foreign currency rubles as of 1 September 1990, including 20.7 million in freely convertible currency. Expenditures

from this fund are made by permission of the Armenian Republic Government. During the period in question plans were made to spend 26.4 million foreign currency rubles:

Equipment to produce dry livestock feed for Leninakan Meat Combine (purchased from Tekhnopol, CSSR)	6,000,000
Quarrying and stonemasonry equipment (Italy)	3,200,00
Construction equipment (Italy)	2,000,000
50 cement mixers for large-panel housing construction and other construction work (FRG)	1,900,000
Sewing machines and special machine tools for Leninakan Toy Combine and Shirak Combine (GDR)	1,400,000
Technical equipment for meat processing combine (Western Europe)	1,300,000
Printing equipment for printing plants in disaster area (GDR)	1,000,000
Small machinery, spare parts and instruments (Hilti, FRG)	720,000
Vacuum-packaging equipment for knitted and sewn goods from light industry enterprises in Leninakan, Spitak, Kirovakan and other cities in the disaster area (Sweden)	700,000
Computer equipment for automated planning system (Dzhiksi, [as published] France)	604,000
Television studios in Leninakan (Western Europe)	450,000
Equipment for interior insulation of steel pipes and leak detection during emergency restoration work on water and sewage systems in the earthquake zone (Western Europe)	350,000
Equipment to reinforce buildings and structures (Janoge, FRG)	320,000
Spare parts for large earth-moving equipment (Kamatsu, Japan)	300,000
Thermoplastic equipment for the manufacture of gas meters (GDR)	300,000
Planning and construction of ready-to-use automated laundry and equipment for drying cleaning factory in the earthquake zone (GDR)	170,000
TOTAL (based on data supplied to TRUD correspondent by the Armenian Ministry of Finance)	20,700,000

#### Azeri Election Official Interviewed

91US0123A Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian  
11 Nov 90 pp 1-2

[Interview with M.Ya. Kaznev, secretary of the Azeri Central Electoral Commission, by an AZERINFORM correspondent; place and date not given: "Little Time Is Left Until the Elections"]

[Text] As is known, the Central Electoral Commission for the election of Azerbaijan SSR deputies has confirmed the scheduling for the main measures to prepare for and hold repeat elections for the Republic's people's deputies. The most crucial period in the election is now. The composition of the district electoral commissions has been fixed, and before 16 November the commissions for the electoral wards will be set up and work on the nomination of candidates for the posts of people's deputies from the labor collectives, public organizations, and collectives of higher and secondary schools, and also those put forward by voters at their places of residence, will have been completed. The district electoral commission continues to register those nominated for the posts of people's deputy. Candidates are beginning to meet the voters.

An AZERINFORM correspondent asked the secretary of the Central Electoral Commission, M.Ya. Kaznev, to tell us about the work that has been done and still lies ahead for the electoral commissions for the election of people's deputies for the Azerbaijan SSR.

[Correspondent] Mamed Yagubovich, before talking about the upcoming work, could you briefly describe the results of the general elections on 30 September and the repeat elections on 14 October. It is known that various interpretations and assessments have been published in the republic press.

[Kaznev] It is difficult to offer an unambiguous assessment of these results because the election campaign was made up of an enormous number of issues in whose resolution both the electoral commissions and state and public organizations, and the labor collectives and hundreds of thousands of voters and so forth were involved. But of course, there were both successes and failures with respect to particular measures. I would describe what are, in my opinion, the most fundamental questions of the election campaign that in one form or another were covered by the mass media. The Azerbaijan People's Front newspaper AZADLYG, which described the elections in Azerbaijan as antidemocratic, distinguished itself with a special, but unfortunately not dispassionate, zeal. I must admit that I would not have engaged in polemics with their writers on certain issues that would have been perfectly clear if they had not linked their failure in the elections to them. Moreover, Azerbaijan People's Front board member Sabit Bagirov reached this point when he said that "...the elections that have taken place testify for whom the January tragedy was necessary."

In my opinion it is difficult to think of anything more blasphemous. But let us return to our theme—the democratic nature of the elections. Let me cite some figures. Despite the overall situation in the country and the certain opposition coming from some of the informal public organizations, on 30 September, 77.9 percent of the voters took part in the elections. A total of 240 deputies was elected. Repeat elections took place in 54 districts, in which 68 percent of the electorate participated. Incidentally, I should add that during those days 33,924 deputies were elected to the local soviets, with repeat elections in 1,761 districts.

On the whole the elections passed in an atmosphere of broad glasnost and democracy, and on a competitive basis. Of the 349 districts, a single candidate was nominated in only 10. And a number of candidates announced their withdrawal during the course of the election campaign.

The public organizations participated actively in the election campaign. More than 40 public organizations nominated their own representatives as candidates for the posts of people's deputies.

The Azerbaijan People's Front and the entire democratic bloc put forward 231 candidates from 166 of the districts. They nominated 2,933 candidates for the local soviets and 1,301 were elected. Members of the informals organizations were well represented in the electoral commissions. The district commissions alone included 259 persons. And they delegated 2,159 of their own representatives as observers in the polling wards on voting day. They played a direct part in all election measures and at gatherings and meetings of candidates with voters. All the candidates from the Azerbaijan People's Front had an average of four or five proxy agents who helped their candidates to conduct the election campaign and engaged in agitation for their election as deputies and represented their interests in their relations with state and public organs and the voters, and also in the electoral commissions.

[Correspondent] So how do you explain the failure of many Azerbaijan People's Front candidates in the elections?

[Kaznev] That is a very complicated question. In-depth and objective analysis is required in order to answer it. Incidentally, an attempt in this direction has been made in E. Namazov's article "Lessons From the Elections" published on 1 November this year in AZADLYG. "About 30 Azerbaijan People's Front candidates winning seats," he writes, "is cold comfort for those who were reckoning if not on a Baltic style scenario then at least a 'Moldovan' outcome." Then he goes on to cite figures on the noticeable fall in the Azerbaijan People's Front's rating during public opinion polls. "Whereas in February, 39 percent of those polled fully approved of the Azerbaijan People's Front's activity and 40.4 percent thought that only the Azerbaijan People's Front could extricate the Republic from crisis," he writes, "by May

those figures were 12.5 percent and 11.2 percent respectively." Yes, the people have begun to distinguish mcre clearly who is who.

[Correspondent] What is the social makeup of the 288 people's deputies already elected?

[Kaznev] First of all, I would like to emphasize the quite high intellectual potential of the future parliament. A total of 227 people, or 96.2 percent, have a higher education. The majority—92 people, or 31.9 percent—are made up of party workers (in the previous parliamentary session the figure was also 92), and 54 people, or 18.7 percent, are workers. One large group is made up of the leaders of associations, enterprises, and organizations—43 people, or 14.9 percent, and there are workers from scientific institutions and higher and secondary educational establishments. Workers in public health organs and lawyers are broadly represented for the first time—16 people (it used to be only two). A total of 91.7 percent of the deputies elected are members of the CPSU. Most deputies—218 of them (75.7 percent)—are aged 40 to 59.

At the same time only seven people working directly in production were elected. A total of 15 of the people elected, or 5.2 percent, are women.

[Correspondent] Which urgent questions should, in your opinion, be resolved by the electoral commission in the time remaining until the election so as to prevent the mistakes that occurred in some electoral districts when the main elections were held?

[Kaznev] First of all it is necessary carefully to collate and check the voters' lists. Many misunderstandings arose, particularly in the electoral districts of Baku City, when the lists included persons who had permanently or temporarily left their particular place of residence, or had died. The fact that they were on the lists led to an artificial lowering of the percentage of voter participation. As a result, elections were declared void if less than 50 percent of those on the lists voted.

When talking about getting all the voters out to vote during the elections, I would like to remind you of a practice that has been justified in Baku, Gyandzhe, and other countries where students who were not registered in that given city and were not living in a hostel are invited to vote in the ward in which their place of study is located.

Special concern and attention must be shown when voting is being arranged for patients either at their places of residence or in hospitals located on the territory of a particular ward. In these cases, at the request of the patients themselves or the administration of the hospital the electoral commission appoints at least two members of the commission to organize voting right there in the hospital.

[Correspondent] During the elections complaints were made that some district electoral commissions restricted

the convening and holding of voters' meetings by independent public organs at places of residence in order to nominate candidates for the posts of people's deputies.

[Kaznev] The fact is that in accordance with the law these meetings to nominate candidates are convened and held, not by public independent organs, but by the district electoral commissions in agreement with the soviets of people's deputies or their presidiums. They (and only they) convene them, in some cases at their own initiative and in others at the initiative of permanent public independent organs located in a given electoral district. The district commission sets the date and time and venue of the meeting, and the voters in the district are informed of this in good time. A meeting is deemed competent when at least 250 people living on the territory of the given electoral district attend it.

[Correspondent] The imprecise formulation of Article 33 of the law on the nomination of candidates from small labor collectives, educational institutions, and public organizations created certain complexities in the last round of the elections. Can you please comment on this article of the law?

[Kaznev] As far as enterprises, establishments, and organizations with 250 or more workers are concerned, the issue is clear. They have the right to nominate one candidate who has obtained a majority of the votes at a meeting attended by more than half of the workers.

A similar rule is also applied when a joint meeting of several labor collectives is held, with a total of at least 250 people attending. However, the holding of such a meeting must be agreed with the district electoral commission.

In the event that it is impossible because of labor conditions or other reasons to hold a general meeting of the collective, a conference can be held. When this is done the labor collective council decides on a standard norm for representation for all the subdivisions of a given enterprise, establishment, or educational institution.

[Correspondent] Can candidates who were not elected in a previous round of the elections be once again placed on the ballot for repeat elections?

[Kaznev] No. Regardless of the reasons, candidates who have failed to obtain the necessary number of votes to be elected as a people's deputy during the course of the general elections or were placed on the ballot in a district where the elections were declared void, cannot be again placed on the ballot for that district. However, they may be nominated for other electoral districts in which repeat elections are taking place as long as all the requirements of the law "On the Election of People's Deputies in the Azerbaijan SSR" are observed.

[Correspondent] Can a candidate be nominated for the post of people's deputy at a place of residence, for

example, in a hostel, if another worker from the collective at his place of work has been nominated?

[Kaznev] Yes, that is possible. This does not deprive other citizens working in a given collective of the right to be placed on the ballot at their own places of residence or by a public organization, or in any other electoral district.

[Correspondent] During the elections some representatives of public organizations, and candidate proxies complained that when reviewing the district electoral commissions' records of registration the Central Electoral Commission disregarded their statements and complaints.

[Kaznev] This kind of lack of coordination may occur when complaints are made too late. In accordance with the law on the election of people's deputies, the district electoral commissions must present the documents on the registration of candidates to the Central Electoral Commission within five days. Refusal to register a candidate may, in accordance with the law, be protested in the Central Electoral Commission within five days so that the documents from the district electoral commission can be reviewed within the established period, giving due consideration to the comments and facts contained in a particular complaint.

[Correspondent] Does it not seem to you that it would be more efficient to regulate the powers of representatives and observers from all the public organizations?

[Kaznev] You are right. At many polling stations there were more observers than commission members, and this sometimes created an atmosphere of commotion and chaos. They sometimes did things that had nothing in common with the aims and tasks of insuring glasnost in the preparations for and holding of the elections. Their powers are determined by law. Observers can be present at meetings of the electoral commissions, including the registration of candidates, and during the sealing or closing of ballot boxes before the start of voting, vote counting in the electoral ward, determination of the voting results by district, and announcement of the overall results of the elections, and also at all gatherings and meetings connected with the elections. However, no kind of interference is permitted by those representatives in the work of the electoral commissions.

#### Georgian National Congress Meets 29 Oct

91US0128A Tbilisi MOLODEZH GRUZII in Russian  
2 Nov 90 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Report on the Session of the Organizational Collegium of the National Congress of 29 October 1990"]

[Text] Of 21 members of the Organizational Collegium, 15 were present at the session. I. Tsereteli, chairman of the previous session, provided information to those in

attendance regarding the implementation of adopted resolutions and presented a report on the session of 28 October.

I. Batiashvili informed those present of the results of negotiations with the management of the USSR State Committee on Radio and Television Broadcasting. I. Tsereteli, I. Batiashvili, and V. Mtavrishvili were entrusted with resolving issues concerning television contacts.

G. Kobakhidze and G. Tvalavadze reported to members of the Organizational Collegium regarding the gathering and development of materials dealing with the wounding of G. Chanturiya. It was decided at a meeting with the investigator from the Mtatsminda Rayon Procuracy that in the event G. Chanturiya provides the depositions and material necessary for an investigation, such investigation will be pursued through to its conclusion. G. Kobakhidze and G. Tvalavadze were directed to prepare appropriate materials for publication in the newspapers and television reports. The facts connected with the wounding of Georgiy Chanturiya, testimony of witnesses and the doctor, photographs and a diagram of the scene of the crime are to be published in the newspapers TBILISI, AKHALGAZRDA IVERIYELI, and MOLODEZH GRUZII.

I. Kadagishvili informed the Organizational Collegium of the establishment of a group that will investigate the incident that took place on the Bolnisi-Kumisi Road. Materials will be submitted to the Organizational Collegium.

Session participants examined the question of creating an editorial board, which would prepare for publication documents adopted at the first and second extraordinary sessions, the final results of sessions of the Organizational Collegium, and materials for the next regular session of the Congress. The editorial board was confirmed and consists of: T. Pipiya, I. Khaindrava, I. Sarishvili, V. Mtavrishvili, G. Kobakhidze, and T. Sharmanashvili.

The I. Chavchavadze Society was invited to nominate a representative to the editorial board. The editorial board itself will designate the days it will convene in session, as deemed necessary.

The appeal to the Georgian people adopted at the first congress session was examined and drafted in final form. I. Tsereteli was assigned to deliver the text of the appeal to the press. An appeal was drawn up to all the peoples of the world, to state, and international organizations.

The Organizational Collegium examined the proposal of I. Kadagishvili concerning regulations on the functioning of the National Congress. Discussion of this issue and other questions related to the structure of the National Congress will be continued 6 November at 1200.

Examined under the agenda "miscellaneous" category were the issues of location of the congress and the provision of equipment support and office space that will be used by its working commissions.

The daily routine for the next session of the organizational commission was established and G. Gogbaidze was elected its chairman.

#### **Gamsakhurdia Interviewed After Election**

*91US0122A Tbilisi MOLODEZH GRUZII in Russian 2 Nov 90 p 4*

[Eteri Kakabadze report on news conference with Zviad Gamsakhurdia, leader of the "Roundtable-Free Georgia" bloc, at international press center on 30 October: "The Elections: A First Step Toward Independence"]

[Text] On Tuesday 30 October the international press center of the Central Electoral Commission for the elections to the Georgian Supreme Soviet held a news conference for foreign, Soviet, and Georgian journalists at the Achara Hotel. It was attended by Tengiz Sigua, deputy chairman of the Central Electoral Commission, and Zviad Gamsakhurdia, leader of the "Roundtable-Free Georgia" bloc.

The press conference was opened by the leader of the international press center, Daniel Sibashvili, a Georgian and citizen of France. On behalf of the press center he protested the information obtained during a TSN [expansion unknown] nighttime broadcast by Central Television on 29 October regarding the elections in Georgia, calling it tendentious and provocative.

Then Tengiz Sigua spoke to those present. He made public the results of the elections that had taken place using the figures from one-third of the districts in the republic. Since it is planned to publish the final results, compiled by the Central Electoral Commission, after our newspaper will have been published, we deem it necessary to give our readers at least those figures that are known from one-third of the votes. And these are they: Bloc No. 1, the Freedom bloc—3.25 percent of the votes; No. 2, the Georgian Social Democratic Party—1.12; No. 3, the Georgian Communist Party—24.96; No. 5, the "Conciliation, Peace, and Revival" bloc, 4.2; No. 6, the Georgian Popular Party—0.67; No. 7, the All-Georgian Rustaveli Society—2.59; No. 10, the All-Georgian Farmers' Alliance—0.37; No. 11, the "Liberation and Economic Revival" bloc—1.29; No. 12, the "Roundtable-Free Georgia" bloc—56.89; No. 13, the People's Front of Georgia—2.7; No. 14, the "Democratic Georgia" bloc—2.5.

In accordance with the majority system, 56 of the 125 deputies have already been elected. The breakdown is as follows: candidates from the "Roundtable-Free Georgia" bloc gained 34 seats in the parliament; the communists gained 16; independent candidates won four; candidates from the People's Front and the "Democratic Georgia" bloc gained one each. In other districts a

second round of voting is planned since none of the candidates obtained the necessary number of votes.

The range of questions that Tengiz Sigua was asked covered the elections in Adzharia, particularly in Khelvachaurskiy Rayon where Givi Gumbaridze, chairman of the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium and first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, was standing. Experts from Belgium who had spent election day in Adzharia as observers and who were present at the news conference also offered their thoughts on the subject.

Then the leader of the "Roundtable-Free Georgia" bloc, Zviad Gamsakhurdia, answered journalists' questions.

[Unidentified journalist] According to the preliminary results of the elections it can already be concluded that your bloc has obtained a parliamentary majority. What will your first steps be?

[Gamsakhurdia] To convene a first session and review the structure of the parliament itself.

[Unidentified journalist] Your bloc's election program contains a provision on total reorganization of the political system and a number of other radical transformations. But since, to judge from everything, representatives of other blocs will also be in parliament, are you prepared to create a coalition government?

[Gamsakhurdia] That depends primarily on the composition of the parliament. Moreover, this issue will be decided not by an individual but by the parliament.

[Unidentified journalist] Is a reorganization of the Committee for State Security [KGB] planned?

[Gamsakhurdia] Long before the elections we were proposing that this be done. In the form in which the KGB now exists it is a subdivision of the Union Committee for State Security and is not juridically subordinate to Georgia. We are trying to make it truly national.

[Unidentified journalist] If we take into account the fact that communists dominate in the management organs, will this not create complications in the form of sabotage when new laws passed by the parliament go into effect?

[Gamsakhurdia] We have foreseen this and we therefore intend first of all to completely reorganize the existing political system and hold municipal elections as soon as possible.

[Unidentified journalist] Will the issue of the legitimacy of actions in Georgia by a party whose center is located outside the republic be raised in the parliament?

[Gamsakhurdia] This issue is the same as the issue of the KGB. We shall set as a condition for the existence of the Georgian Communist Party that it no longer be part of the imperial center. It must become a national, independent communist party.

[Unidentified journalist] What position does the new parliament intend to take with respect to the political, economic, and other treaties concluded by the present Georgian leadership with the Union republics?

[Gamsakhurdia] The texts of those treaties have not been published, and we can say that they are secret, and therefore the first thing to be done is study them carefully. If they are not in line with the interests of Georgia they will be abrogated. Moreover, they were concluded by an illegitimate Georgian government.

[Unidentified journalist] It is common knowledge that as the result of the occupation and annexation of Georgia in 1921, Georgia lost part of its territory. Does the new parliament intend to raise the question of the return of that territory?

[Gamsakhurdia] Only the parliament of an independent Georgia can raise this issue with the international community. Since the newly elected parliament is an interim parliament for the transitional period and is not a subject of international law, raising this issue cannot produce results.

[Unidentified journalist] Do you feel that you have won the elections?

[Gamsakhurdia] I have mixed feelings. On the one hand I am satisfied with the election results, but on the other I am outraged by the violations and illegalities that the Communist Party committed during the course of the elections.

[Unidentified journalist] What significance will your victory in the elections have for Georgia?

[Gamsakhurdia] It is vitally important for Georgia. First and foremost it is a first step toward independence.

[Unidentified journalist] When will the new parliament start its work?

[Gamsakhurdia] The first session of the parliament will be convened a few days after the official statement on the election results.

[Unidentified journalist] You have said that if your bloc were to gain a majority in the parliament that would be the first step toward independence. What will the second step be?

[Gamsakhurdia] Adoption of a declaration of independence.

[Unidentified journalist] What is your opinion of presidential rule in Georgia?

[Gamsakhurdia] While the country is still annexed it is pointless to talk about presidential rule.

[Unidentified journalist] Do you think that in an independent Georgia the Bagrationi dynasty should be restored, or do you favor presidential rule?

[Gamsakhurdia] The one does not hamper the other, because in a constitutional monarchy there is a parliament and power is given to a prime minister, and the presence of the monarch is purely symbolic.

[Unidentified journalist] Do you intend to establish the institution of a presidency, and whose prerogative will that be, the people or the parliament?

[Gamsakhurdia] I repeat that this question should be resolved after the declaration of independence. It is too soon to talk about whose prerogative—the people or the parliament—it will be.

[Unidentified journalist] Your political opponents have accused you of leaning toward dictatorship. What do you say to that?

[Gamsakhurdia] I answered this question in part earlier when I said that it is not possible to raise the question of presidential rule at this time. If I wanted a dictatorship, I would already be raising the issue of a president, and I assure you that no one would be able to stop me. That is the first thing. The second is that I would say that this question should be resolved by the people or the parliament rather than an individual.

[Unidentified journalist] Can you please clarify the issue with respect to the new government?

[Gamsakhurdia] Everything depends on the balance of political forces in the parliament. And this is not yet clear.

[Unidentified journalist] But surely it is clear that the "Roundtable" will have a majority...

[Gamsakhurdia] Pardon me, but this is already interference in our domestic affairs, and I will therefore not answer.

[Unidentified journalist] How do you intend to build your relations with the current president of Georgia, Mr. Givi Gumbaridze?

[Gamsakhurdia] First, he is the former president, and so the question has no meaning. Second, Mr. Gumbaridze has never been president, he occupied the post of chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, which is a different thing.

[Unidentified journalist] Apart from the opposition in parliament, you still have opposition outside it. How do you see your mutual relations?

[Gamsakhurdia] We will follow the principle that was announced by the greatest representative of world democracy in one of his speeches, Abraham Lincoln: malice toward none, charity for all.

[Unidentified journalist] What will be your attitude toward the non-Georgian population?

[Gamsakhurdia] Our attitude toward the non-Georgian population has always been tolerant and friendly and based

on mutual respect. There is no need to listen to the rumors being spread by agents of the empire. Our program talks about the intention to pass a law to safeguard the rights of national minorities.

[Unidentified journalist] Does Georgia still believe that for it the sun rises in the north?

[Gamsakhurdia] I think that now we can say that the sun is setting in the north.

[Unidentified journalist] It is possible that after the elections in Georgia the center will impose economic sanctions against it. What steps can you take to counteract this?

[Gamsakhurdia] If we even expected such sanctions from the center, then Russia would hardly support them. Today both Russia and we are in the same position with respect to the center. I think that we will be able to find a common language and avert a blockade.

After the questions were exhausted, Zviad Gamsakhurdia made a concluding statement. In particular he said that the election victory by the bloc that he represents is a victory for the entire Georgian people, and he also noted that the normal conditions in which the first multiparty elections have taken place were largely associated with the presence in Georgia of foreign expert observers and journalists.

#### **Georgian National Congress on Current Role**

*91US0118A Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian  
10 Nov 90 p 3*

[Report on interview with I. Khaindrava, member of the National Congress, by A. Sinelnikov; place and date not given: "The National Congress and the Supreme Soviet: What Is Ahead?"]

[Text] The National Congress began to form its working organs. Its first plenary meeting, which took place on 26 October, ended in an unexpected fashion—Giorgiy Chanturiya, leader of the National Democratic Party, was wounded by a shot from a pistol. The congressmen will assemble in full session on 16 November, two days after the opening of the Georgian Supreme Soviet session. In the meantime, an organizational board of the congress is trying to find a formula for relations with the official parliament.

Before turning to this subject, first some information about what the National Congress is doing at present and what sort of problems it is resolving.

A commission has been created to study the situation that has arisen around the fund of the Demographic Society. One of the members of the society was arrested by the militia "on a charge of illegal possession of a weapon." Thanks to the intervention of the congress, he was released on bail. The congress appealed to all organizations, institutions, and private persons to render all possible aid to Z. Kasrashvili and I. Rukhadze, who were

poisoned during the events of 9 April. As everyone knows, the government still has not allotted the hard currency needed to send them abroad for treatment. The text of the Appeal to Influential Sociopolitical Organizations of the West That Can Contribute to Affirmation of the National Congress on the International Stage was approved. G. Chanturiya presented the text of the appeal. Members of the organizational board approved the idea of creating a council under the congress in which those parties, organizations, and public figures that did not take part in the elections to the National Congress may participate.

It was considered advisable to continue the boycott of the Army of occupation.

Nonetheless, the main problem of the congress is its relations with the Supreme Soviet. A correspondent from ZARYA VOSTOKA spoke about this with Ivlian Khaindrava, member of the congress (from the Union of Free Democrats):

[Khaindrava] The work of the National Congress is an extraordinary phenomenon in the life of the people who, in the course of 70 years, have not have a single scrap of freedom. We have succeeded in creating an organ that is completely independent of Soviet and imperial structures and that makes the ideas of freedom and democracy the basis of its activities.

[Sinelnikov] Were the results of the elections to the Supreme Soviet a shock for the members of the congress?

[Khaindrava] They were unexpected. But notice that the sole party that garnered as many seats as the sociologists predicted was the Communist Party. "Roundtable" received far more than was expected, and the other opposition parties received far less. It is apparent that at some point "Roundtable" and Zviad Gamsakhurdia himself became the embodiment of the opposition for a significant portion of the Georgian people.

[Sinelnikov] In this fashion did the ideas of liberalism suffer a defeat—did the people speak in favor of "drastic" radicalism?

[Khaindrava] I would be careful about using the term "liberal opposition" with regard to all parties who suffered defeat in the elections to the Supreme Soviet. For example, our Union of Free Democrats is in essence liberal, but in the conditions that have arisen we are radical liberals, however paradoxical that sounds. The problem is that in our concrete vital and political conditions the ideas of pure West European liberalism are not being applied at present—with regard to the existing regime, the liberals are true radicals.

Undoubtedly, the National Congress is now faced with the question of relations with the Supreme Soviet. At the first session of the congress, Irakli Tsereteli, leader of the Party of National Independence, gave a speech. He said that cooperation and mutual understanding between the congress and the Supreme Soviet will

depend for the most part on what sort of status the Supreme Soviet defines for itself and for Georgia today.

The National Congress defines the status of Georgia today sufficiently unambiguously—I did not notice any disagreement on this issue between the different parties or blocs. Georgia is an occupied and annexed territory as a result of the aggression of a neighboring state. We believe that as the official status of Georgia is defined, it is necessary to be realists and start from things as they really are.

[Sinelnikov] And the Supreme Soviet, according to the congress, should register this status for Georgia?

[Khaindrava] Yes, because only by registering our status as an occupied and annexed country is it possible to join international bodies and demand the deoccupation of Georgia and the restoration of an independent Georgian state.

[Sinelnikov] But if such a status is adopted, the Supreme Soviet will not be able to consider itself "the supreme organ of power."

[Khaindrava] We believe that the status of the Supreme Soviet should be brought into accordance with its real situation. Lately the term "national parliament" is already increasingly beginning to be used and to take root in the press and in daily use. This term, from our point of view, does not at all correspond to what the Supreme Soviet really is. In fact, the Supreme Soviet is an organ of self-government of an occupied country that has certain rights and opportunities to decide administrative questions.

But it does not possess all the necessary attributes of the supreme organ of power of a sovereign state: The Army, militia, border forces, state security, and customs are not yet subordinate to the Supreme Soviet and are directed from without. We believe that at the moment when the prerequisites for real sovereignty of Georgia are created both inside and on the international stage, both the congress and the Supreme Soviet should dissolve themselves and designate elections for a truly national parliament—a single authorized and legal organ possessing authority in all relations.

[Sinelnikov] But after all, there are similarities in the ideas of "Roundtable" as well. There they also speak about the need for a transition period and about refusing to conclude a Union treaty because of the absence of any real sovereignty for Georgia.

[Khaindrava] In essence, there is nothing in that to object to. Those same ideas were also in the preelection programs of the other parties. We are truly entering a transition period—but in that case let us define it: A transition from what to what? From what state to what state for Georgia? If the Supreme Soviet defines the status of Georgia as an occupied state and its own status

in a corresponding manner, it will lay the foundation for mutual understanding between it and the National Congress.

[Sinelnikov] And what can serve as a stumbling block toward such mutual understanding?

[Khaindrava] Attempts on the part of the party or parties victorious in the elections to the Supreme Soviet to introduce any semblance of censorship over the mass media, to limit access to the media for other parties and political movements, or to limit personal rights and civil freedoms.

[Sinelnikov] Let us define ourselves once more: Why is the National Congress needed? I ask this question because the official congress has still not defined its own status either.

[Khaindrava] The problem is that pure parliamentarianism, as we already said, does not exist here at present. We are not a sovereign state, and we also have, in addition to the normal political struggle, a national liberation movement. If the Supreme Soviet is an organ of self-government of an occupied country, then the National Congress is an organ of a national liberation movement of the people of that country. If the activities of the Supreme Soviet turn out to contradict the national liberation movement, the National Congress will begin political opposition to it. If such a contradiction does not occur, we can look forward to mutual understanding and cooperation. In addition, the National Congress can be an excellent school of parliamentarianism inasmuch as, as opposed to the Supreme Soviet, a wide spectrum of points of view and positions is represented in it.

### Central Asia

#### Nationalist Berdibayev on Kazakh Sovereignty, Self-Assertion

91US0105B Alma-Ata SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN  
in Kazakh 30 Sep 90 p 3,4

[Article by Raqmanqul Berdibayev, corresponding member of the Kazakh SSR Academy of Sciences: "Sovereignty—The Heritage of the People"]

[Text] Our people, which has seen various kinds of "equality in words, inferiority in fact," has received, with great hope, the draft of the "Declaration of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic on State Sovereignty." No results were achieved by national liberation movements to gain the freedom of the people in their land after the destruction of Kazakh independence in the first part of the 19th century. It is clear that the efforts of heroes to protect the honor of the people accomplished nothing, and had little or no effect. Who has been unaware that a cloud of abuse has fallen upon the heads of those striving for independence, and that totally honorable men have become the victims of slander and

disgrace, and that the hope of establishing an independent government (republic) has become an ever more distant dream? These days it is known to everyone that our citizenship, obtained in the era after the organization of the Soviet regime, is, in truth, in name only, with no substance. Leaving aside many other questions, Kazakhstan has remained utterly empty handed in its desire to gain control of the riches produced from its own lands. While for years we have boasted about "our achievements," "our gains," and smiled on the outside, on the inside we have had no doubt that these were cold words. Under these conditions, the proclamation of the policy of perestroika in our nation has given rise to to a veritable revolution in our way of life, and in our minds. We can only thank our leaders for a resolute beginning made in such a new direction in our multi-ethnic Soviet nation...

Now let us turn to the Declaration, now offered to the people for general discussion. While basically approving the good ideas and proposals in this wonderful draft, we are making known our requests and suggestions in order to develop and refine them. In order to do justice to the careful analysis of the appropriate official organizations and special commissions which have gathered and evaluated the views of the public, we think it suitable to present our thoughts as an analysis of the Declaration, preserving the organization of the document.

First of all, we think it necessary to strengthen the wording which appears before the First Section defining the sovereignty of Kazakhstan: "The Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic ratifies this Declaration and proclaims its state sovereignty over all the territory of the republic." In our view, the wording should say: "We proclaim the sovereignty of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic, and that its government and laws prevail and are fully empowered in the territory of the republic, and that we are striving to establish freedom in our internal and external relations, and to establish a legal government." This statement reflects the real meaning of the word "suverenitet." There is no reason why this initial wording, which is intended to sum up the essence of the paragraphs which follow, should be weak or indecisive...

Lacking in the first paragraph of the Declaration is the statement: "Sovereignty shall be achieved in accordance with the norms of Kazakh SSR and international law." However, it would seem as if the beginning of the statement in the first paragraph of this section that "we are voluntarily unified within a union of sovereign republics, and will establish mutual relations with them by treaty" is unnecessary. This is because there is no detailed statement in the Declaration about questions of relations among the various governments. It is intended only to state general principles. Thus statements in this regard, that connections with other republics are on a basis of friendship, solidarity, respect for the territorial integrity of other nations, mutual equality and benefit, would be better. Only time will tell if the republics of our nation will in the future become a unified federation, a confederation, or a union of states...

It is clear that there are a number of problems in the Second section of the draft offered for discussion, and that additions are needed. Leaving aside the question of the poor translation from Russian to Kazakh of the passage in the fourth paragraph of this part (—examples of such clumsy Kazakh are found throughout the Declaration; a problem in and of itself): "The Kazakh SSR has its own citizenship and it guarantees to every citizen the right to remain citizens of the Soviet Union;" logically the statement seems incomplete. Thus it would seem necessary to add, at the end of the sentence: "Persons with Soviet Union and Kazakh SSR citizenship may freely, at their own choice, depart or return to their historical homelands."

The last paragraph in Section 2 formulates a very meaningful question. The text is as follows: "As the Kazakh SSR regulates processes of migration and of immigration, measures are being taken, and care is being exercised in the area of preserving and protecting the interests of citizens of the republic living outside its territories." While the intention is good, we think that this statement is very weak and "indifferent." Since this is the first such Declaration ratified in our history, we have no choice but to state the question as openly and as clearly as possible. It is well known that unspeakable disasters have befallen the people during the Czarist era, and during the years of the Soviet regime. As a result of these disasters one third of the people were forced by hunger or oppression to move to foreign countries, or to union republics. Those who did not die from hunger, who survived, went helter-skelter in all directions. They have been deprived of their national cultural traditions, and are spiritually in a poor state. Refugee Kazakhs did not go to areas outside the republic by choice, or through political action. These were the circumstances which drove them out of their native land: their involuntary deprivation of the best lands and frantic efforts to escape starvation. It was the Czarist government which seized the land, and bloody Stalinist-Goloshchekin policy which caused the starvation. We realize that this was intentional oppression. Why continue to hide it? There are not a few of our countrymen who recall fondly the departure of their ancestors to foreign countries, or to the union republic. But up until the present little or nothing has been done for their return. Is it not oppression that the Kazakhs living outside our republic alone cannot return to our republic, where so many different peoples live?

For how many years have the gates of Armenia been "legally" open to all the returning Armenians of the world? The Russians, the most numerous of all peoples in the Soviet Union, seek Russians living in foreign countries, invite them home and show continual concern for them. The situation is similar for other peoples. What have the Kazakhs done wrong that the barriers preventing their return to the homeland are increasing in

numbers in those countries? Since the administrative-political apparatus spread all across our troubled nation cares nothing for the fate of the Kazakh people, it ignores our national dreams.

To say the least, some extremist organizations established in various regions of our country have been casting envious glances on the remaining lands of the Kazakhs, and are working to seize them. In our view, the central government is presently doing nothing to prevent this. Letting the unofficial organizations have a free rein, sitting aside and making no move when they say "whatever is yours is mine," shows no concern for the people. Whereas the Organization of Russian Kazakhs was first established with the aim of promoting cultural needs and national traditions, it quickly revealed its real face. The leaders and supporters now claim land from Kazakhstan. "Meetings" held in Oskemen, along the Zhayyq [Ural], and in northern Kazakhstan are proof. In addition, A. Solzhenitsyn, a Russian writer living abroad, recently has published an article pouring oil on the flames of the "land claimers" (LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, September 18, 1990). We have no doubts about the literary abilities of Mr. Solzhenitsyn, but with this article he has revealed himself not just as a chauvinist, but also as a europocentrist. In his view, it would seem, the Kazakhs who have left their country have no permanent homeland of their own. In particular, he makes it clear that he cannot "spare" the northern and western parts of Kazakhstan for Kazakhs. Whether it is from ignorance of history in this matter, or from evil intent, or both, he will not get away with it. Solzhenitsyn wants to split off Russians, Ukrainians and Belorussians, and turn them against the other peoples of our nation. In general, we believe that the appropriate answer has been given to Solzhenitsyn's provocative article, and that the republic has drawn the appropriate conclusions from it. That is a special topic of discussion in and of itself. We think that what Solzhenitsyn is trying to do is clear. This being the case, what forced our honored KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA and LITERATURNAYA GAZETA to disseminate so quickly to its readers in the Soviet Union and in the world, utterly without comment, a work full of such utter arrogance? Is this not a matter of those managing these papers being in agreement in their minds, regarding the history of the Kazakhs, with the nonsense of Russian writers on both sides of the ocean? If this is so, then was their intention in publishing this damaging work to demoralize the paper's thousands of readers in Kazakhstan? In any case, I do not think that the publications have gained any honor from this. For the papers to give space to an article so clearly poisoned by colonialist ideas is the same as the papers taking this position themselves.

There are special reasons why we have briefly discussed here the Solzhenitsyn article, which needs special consideration elsewhere. Those who say that the land of the Kazakhs cannot be spared for Kazakhstan are really saying that the weight of local people in the republic has decreased. It has been made clear that because the

Crimean Tatars are few in numbers they cannot form a republic in the Crimea. The emigre writer is ignorant of why the Kazakhs remain few in their own country, and does not wish to know. What he seems to think is that a people whose numbers have decreased must be deprived of autonomy. This is the shape of the "philosophy" of a writer whose reputation has split the country.

The proof of A. Solzhenitsyn has continued to be advanced by many enemies among us. During Czarist times the Kazakhs were deprived of their richest, best-watered lands, and driven away to deserts, to the wastelands. As a consequence of the oppressions of the 1920s and 1930s, the Kazakhs suffered general destruction, and thereby became a minority in their own land. What kind of a system is it which, instead of exposing the criminal history of the past, calling it all a sly encroachment, states: "you are not now numerous in your own lands, how can you open your mouths to demand justice?" Can we believe that it is a strong leadership which states, to quiet down those rushing around in confusion unable to ensure that the Kazakh language is honored as an official language: "have you no shame whatever? Do you think you are better than everyone else, wanting to open kindergarten and schools teaching in your own language? Are you not the enemies of the rest of us? If not you had better give up such trouble-making thoughts..." The reader will understand the reasons why we have had to deviate from our topic...

In as much as it is our fault that we cannot be the majority in our own republic, the question naturally arises of how can ways be found out of this situation. In addition, there is the nonsense voiced by various persons, beginning with Kolbin, that, since there are many large families among the local people of Kazakhstan, this is another cause of economic difficulties. But in any case, the minority status of the Kazakhs in their own land has been convenient for those yearning for the imperial system which once existed. And if the indigenous, native people of the republic hears such inhumane, provocative thoughts spoken aloud, must they pretend that they have never heard them, or do not see what is going on? This must in truth be one of the questions lying before the nationality today. And if we expect others to answer for us, this would be still another vain delusion. Taking these facts into consideration, we feel that one of the most meaningful issues today is recalling the Kazakhs scattered here and there outside Kazakhstan to their historical homeland. To be sure, this process is not something which can be brought about quickly. But be that as it may, the time has come to make it the order of the day, and to make concrete proposals. It is altogether proper that the question of a people which has, throughout the ages, been coerced and suffered oppression from those with power, with teeth, should be raised in this manner. It is natural that this need should find its expression in the Declaration of Sovereignty to be ratified shortly. This is the grief and the problem of the Kazakhs, and there is nothing in it opposed to the other peoples living in Kazakhstan. This being the case, there

is need, as stated above, for a specific addition at the end of the final paragraph of the Second Section: "**The Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic shall make efforts to bring about the return, to the homeland, of Kazakhs forced to flee from the lands of their birth to foreign countries, and to the union republics, during the era of Czarist colonialist expansion, Stalinist-Goloshevkin genocide and repression.**" If Kazakhstan truly proclaims its sovereignty, there is no reason for this question to remain hidden, or be forgotten. We hope that this question, as clear as day, and in my view advanced justly, will find a proper resolution in the coming session of the Supreme Soviet, and that no one without feelings of justice or of humanity will be against it.

Looking over the draft of the declaration in detail, we note the places in every section where it says "if the statement here differs..." If one were to put them all together, there would be more than could fit in this article. For this reason, we have looked at only a few cases that are in our view important. **Since the text of the declaration is not divided up by topic, this has resulted in certain repetitions and clumsiness in the general narrative...**

It would be appropriate to continue the phrases discussing a state national bank, financing and credit, an independent state budget, and the organization of a customs service in the fourth paragraph of Section Six with an addition stating: "**The Republic can, in case of need, issue its own currency.**" The Declaration is not a statement made every year. It is a policy statement for the long term. This being the case, the possibility that the sovereign republic will issue currency in the future should not be ruled out in advance.

We think that following the general statement in Section Seven to the effect that "the Kazakh SSR will determine independently the system and organization for the protection of the ecological environment of the republic, and for the utilization of natural resources," before there is any statement whatever about prohibiting the testing of nuclear weapons, that the specific statement be made that: "**We proclaim Kazakhstan a nuclear-free zone.**" It is clear to everyone that the harm resulting from the explosion and testing of nuclear weapons in the territories of the republic will reach not just to the people of today, but to their children's children. However, closing down the nuclear testing zone is only a beginning; a decision must be made to prevent the repetition of such a disaster in the future. In place of the weak statement that the republic has the right to demand restitution for damage caused by military-industrial centers, the statement must be strengthened by the statement: "**The Kazakh SSR will be legally reimbursed for damages caused by the actions of union organs, union republics, and other state actions, and likewise for damage caused by the functions of nuclear testing areas, and of other former military-industrial centers operating in its territories.**"

We think that clarifications and additions are also needed in the Ninth Section of the Declaration. In this context we must offer statements such as: "**The Kazakh SSR will itself determine the system for the military service of republic citizens.**" "**The service of citizens of Kazakhstan called into military service will, as a rule, be performed in Kazakhstan.**" "**Kazakhstan declares itself a non-aligned country, part of no military alliance.**" Statements such as "we will negotiate with the Union government" are unclear, inconsistent ideas. "Kazakhstan" strives to conquer no one's land, it does not intend to spread communist ideas either to Asia or to Europe by force of arms, and its aim is to establish, in its own lands, labor and solidarity, happiness...If we cannot, relying upon such humanitarian conceptions, form a real, non-aligned state, then the value of our sovereignty is limited...

Section 10 is also weak and there are places where general statements can be made. The wording in the paragraph discussing Kazakhstan's future foreign relations, proclaiming all republic rights to exchanging diplomats and consuls, and to participation in the work of international organizations, including the United Nations Organization, is uneven and weak. In particular, there is the need to refer specifically to the fact that Kazakhstan "**needs to be a member of the United Nations Organization.**" In this connection, the statement "has the right to participate" seems to have little or no meaning. We know that representatives from Kazakhstan have from time to time participated in United Nations Organization sessions. Every adult and every child knows that such participation is not prevented in any way. For that reason, it is necessary to clearly state the need for Kazakhstan to become a legal member of an organization active in unifying the peoples of the world.

One major root of our inequality is that our voice is not heard in organizations located in foreign countries. We have no desire to continue this inequality in the future too.

**There is no mention at all in the section under discussion of the General Declaration on Human Rights, considered as common to the peoples of the world.** It is well known that rich humanistic conceptions have found a place in that Declaration. The fundamental principles of the sovereignty now being considered must be shown to rely on those universal laws recognized by the nations of the entire world, and taken as guidance by them.

**Something else which must be taken into consideration is the need to rely on international law in decisions about the fates of rivers and lakes situated in several countries.** It is useful to set forth in the Declaration the sovereignty of Kazakhstan with respect to the future of such rivers and lakes jointly utilized by neighboring countries.

In recent years the Kazakh-language newspapers of our republic have raised extremely weighty issues in their pages. Unfortunately, it is difficult to say that such material has been fully read and evaluated by the leaderships of ministries and authorities, or by those in charge of organizations even higher up. The principal reason for this difficulty is that while some of the Kazakhs in leading organizations can speak Kazakh, they are very inexperienced, or completely incompetent, in the reading of press materials. This is something very sad, to be sure. This is the reason why many "hot" facts and suggestions in newspaper articles fail to have any impact. If such bad habits are not to be repeated in the discussion of the draft of the Declaration, we ask that there be more persons knowing Kazakh well in offices reading and evaluating the suggestions of the people.

**RSFSR Moves Toward Independent Media**

*91UN0305C Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY  
in Russian No 46, Nov 90 p 4*

[Article by V. Logunov, RSFSR deputy minister of the press and mass media, USSR people's deputy: "Russia Acquires a Voice"]

**[Text] Silence in Times of Glasnost**

The law on the press opened the floodgates of glasnost. As of 1 November, our ministry registered about 300 publications of all kinds printed in the republic.

New newspapers experience many difficulties. There is a personnel shortage. Printing facilities are underdeveloped: In this sphere, we are 50 years behind foreign countries. However, even antediluvian equipment is in short supply.

Russia did not have its own television, radio, or publications, with the exception of the notorious SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, which, despite being officially owned by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, did not belong to it. What about kray, oblast, city, and rayon publications with dual affiliation? Party committees were always in control of these joint publications.

This is why the ministry that was created in late September started out by creating an independent Russian press.

What has been accomplished? The parliamentary ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA is beginning to be published. On 3 November, its trial issue was published, and on 11 November its first issue. The newspaper will become a daily starting the day the RSFSR Second Congress of People's Deputies opens. You may subscribe to it in December and January. A government weekly will begin to be published before the end of the year. Plans have been made to publish a weekly, the topics of which will be sovereignty and the federation, as well as a sociopolitical magazine, and other periodicals.

**"Principles" or Compromise?**

How did we manage to embark on publishing Russian newspapers? We arranged with the CPSU Central Committee, in what I would term an amicable manner, that it would be possible to publish Russian newspapers in the printing complex of MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA. On top of this, we will build together the second unit of this printing plant (with an area of 32,000 square meters), outfit it, and subsequently receive 40 percent of the capacity of the printing complex and the same percentage of all profits. By the end of 1991 we should have no difficulty publishing our periodicals.

Now they are saying that we "betrayed our principles" by making an arrangement with the CPSU Central Committee.... However, let us take a sober look at things: What would we have actually secured by "taking away" SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA? In reality, we would have

only received an allocation of newsprint plus the title of a publication (not exactly popular among most readers). Where is it to be printed: in Tula or in Geneva? Besides, the printed organ of Russian Communists has its own history and its own readership.... Meanwhile, a new Russia should get a new newspaper.

In August, we sent a letter to the field in which it was indicated that from then on okrug, city, and rayon dual-affiliation newspapers would not be receiving subsidies from the Russian budget (this year they have come to 70 million rubles [R], and next year they would exceed R300 million due to growing prices for newsprint, printing services, and distribution costs), but they could count on 50 percent of the required volume of newsprint (the rest is at the expense of the CPSU Central Committee Administration of Affairs). In response, the process of separation of the publications began locally. The traditional wording "organ of the okrug committee," "city committee," or "rayon committee" was removed from the mastheads (though the same committees still intended to control the publications).

Nobody is imposing mergers or splits forcibly; this process should be natural. The issue of subsidies will be resolved by the Supreme Soviet of Russia in the process of adopting the state budget, and that of the expediency of publications, by the local soviets rather than party committees. We will consistently defend our position. After all, the fate of local publications also means the fate of 30,000 journalists.

**Newsprint Is a Serious Matter**

We are particularly concerned about the situation with newsprint, which is in very short supply in the republic. The per capita consumption of paper here is under 20 kilograms (in the United States—300 kilograms, in Finland—250 kilograms, and in Sweden—230 kilograms). You hear all the time the conventional explanation (is it really random?): "Cooperative members are to blame; they have bought up all the newsprint." However, what the cooperative members buy (at 30 times the nominal price), as a part of the overall volume, is a drop in the bucket compared to what various "post office box" facilities and the CPSU Central Committee Administration of Affairs have. Planning officials always awaited instructions from the Central Committee Administration of Affairs on how much paper to give to whom.

Has the situation changed now? Outwardly it has. Meanwhile, in essence, guidelines for the distribution of newsprint remain the same. For example, last year about 1.8 million tons of newsprint were produced (the numbers are averaged), of which 600,000 tons were sent to Union republics. About 250,000 went to friendly countries. From the remaining amount more than half a million tons—one-half—was for the CPSU Central Committee; 150,000 tons are used by various organizations (USSR Ministry of Defense, KGB, Ministry of Internal Affairs, the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League, and so on). Sixty thousand tons were allocated to

**Russia.** This is less than four percent of all newsprint produced in the republic! What about new publications that already exist and that may appear in the nearest future (soviet, "independent," for children, and those of various parties and people's movements)? The only way out is to redistribute allocations at the expense of consumers who have large resources at their disposal.

On 24 October, the Supreme Soviet adopted a resolution "**On the Exclusive Right of the Organs of RSFSR State Government to Distribute Pulp and Paper Products Manufactured in the Russian Federation.**"

**"Taking into account the fact that the existing practice of distributing the pulp and paper products manufactured in the territory of the republic without coordination with appropriate RSFSR organs contravenes the sovereignty of the Russian Federation, the RSFSR Supreme Soviet RESOLVES:**

**"1. To establish that state orders for the manufacturing of pulp and paper products in the RSFSR are set by the RSFSR Council of Ministers or other organs of state government on its delegated authority.**

**"State orders are compiled proceeding from the needs of the Russian Federation, its obligations by virtue of inter-republic and foreign-economic agreements and transactions, as well as taking into account all-Union needs.**

**"2. To instruct the RSFSR Council of Ministers to develop and adopt within one month procedures for distributing pulp and paper products to consumers, as well as proposals to revise the agreements and transactions referred to in Point 1 of the present Resolution and a delivery contract signed before it takes effect."**

Some people would make wry faces: "A confrontation with the center again!" Nothing of the kind—it is just restoring justice. Let us look at what is happening: the Publishing Houses "Prosveshcheniye" and "Detskaya Literatura" print cheap textbooks and children's books for the entire Soviet Union, but cannot make ends meet because there is a shortage of paper. Meanwhile, the PRAVDA Combine publishes nonhonorarium, commercial literature in millions of copies. However, since PRAVDA has good facilities for turning out book products, let them print textbooks and books for children. It has become clear that the circulation of party publications has declined. Meanwhile, newsprint is allocated on the basis of past circulation. Where will it go then? To the market? To reprint horoscopes and sex manuals?

...At present, all of us work under difficult conditions. However, the Russian government will take all necessary measures in order to build up the pulp and paper industry, update its equipment, and improve the working conditions of the people, and in order to distribute paper fairly.

### **Belorussian Union of Journalists Holds Congress**

#### **Union Criticized for Inaction**

*91UN0209A Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA  
in Russian 24 Oct 90 p 3*

[Article by BELTA correspondents V. Glod and Ye. Gorelik: "Who Defends the Journalist?"]

[Text] One of the delegates to the Belorussian SSR Union of Journalists 8th Congress, held October 19 in Minsk, referred to the press as "the locomotive of perestroyka." This comparison may be overdone. But it also contains a good deal of truth. For it is the mass media, by widely comparing the most varying opinions and judgments, which constantly supply readers with current and accurate information for consideration. It is the media which help the country achieve public agreement so necessary today for our country.

In reflecting the interests of all the people, journalists cease to be "transmission belts" and "servants of the party." Their sharp, well-aimed reports displease those who would like to keep the press under strict control.

The story of the Malorit local paper is instructive in this regard. Without asking the Belorussian CP raykom, the paper reported on gross violations of commerce in Malorit. At the raykom plenary meeting, the editor, Vladimir Zakharevich, suggested that the rayon administrators covering up for the mafia should resign. The raykom decided to rein in the unruly publication. But it was unable to break the newspaper.

One would think that people would be happy about one more victory for glasnost. But in this and several similar episodes the editorial board being persecuted received little help from the Union of Journalists. This is why several congress delegates raised the question of whether the union is needed at all.

"I cannot express the feeling of shame I felt when I learned that our union did not react to the action of the Ministry of Communications," bitterly noted the editor of the Luninetsk rayon paper LENINSKI SHLYAKH, Andrey Vyshinskiy. "Our 'headquarters' were not interested in how journalists are getting along in the Chernobyl zone. No one thought to ask for help through uniting with colleagues in foreign countries."

In fact, the union's leadership silently accepted the draconian measures of the Ministry of Communications, which sharply and arbitrarily raised the cost of services for distributing the press. A powerful force such as the republic's people's deputies, which include ten journalists, was also activated. But not one of them asked I. Gritsuk during his appointment as Belorussian SSR minister of communications and information sciences what could be done to somehow lower the cost of delivering newspapers and magazines. One would think that the union could look at organizing an alternative delivery service.

Pressing social ills, aggravated to the limit after the press, was the first, long before a parliamentary consensus, to be thrown, as one of the speakers put it, to the "pitiless jaws of the market"; the unrestrained greed of monopolists from the communications, printing and paper-making agencies; the withdrawal into the shadows of the recently all-powerful ideological authorities, combining their dictatorship with at least minimal concern for those under them—all these objectively pushed into the background strictly creative, professional issues.

So many delegates touched upon them only tangentially, in passing, evidently assuming justifiably that it is almost hopeless to teach lessons even from the congress' dais. The ability to write should be molded at the student's desk and be polished on the editorial board, in daily practice, where the suggestions and good advice of an experienced colleague are sometimes more important and more necessary than many hours of seminars and lectures. Perhaps that is why, in contrast to previous such forums, no one "threw rocks into the garden" of the journalism college, no one criticized the party school for producing journalists poorly prepared for actual work.

At the same time, one theme which at first glance seems to have no direct relation to creativity was heard clearly and alarmingly in the speeches of several delegates, and was then actively discussed in the congress' corridors. This involves the squabble among certain publications, going far back to the past and ever more widely disseminated on their pages, one having nothing to do with the basic issues or the discussion of vitally important problems. The unprotected reader is assaulted with materials presented in a strict, admonitory tone in which, for example, FIZKULTURNIK BELORUSSII lectures ZVYAZDA, ZARYA lectures BELTA, and LITERATURA I MASTATSTVA lectures everyone without exception. For several issues in a row the journals POLITICHESKIY SOBESEDNIK and RODNIK pounded on each other without overly concerning themselves with the reasoning behind their mutual accusations and reproaches. We will not categorically judge whether such publications are needed in the era of the triumph of pluralism, but we are absolutely certain that they are of very little use.

From no matter what positions the congress delegates spoke, they arrived at an identical conclusion: the Union of Journalists in its present form is neither a trade union nor a creative organization which provides anything for the average journalist. It cannot defend him either morally or materially. And this is particularly insulting. After all, those in the press know well the substantial resources available to certain publications. But almost all the profits, except for a paltry amount to the union, goes into the party till. Journalists believe that the editorial board is a state enterprise and must have the right to independently control at least part of its profits.

Paradoxical as it may be, while helping others, journalists to date have been unable to defend themselves. A discriminatory situation has been in effect, according to

which the average wage of certain categories of journalists at the time of retirement cannot exceed 220 rubles. That is the true reality, and those who assume that journalists pile up money with a shovel are sadly mistaken. If that were the case, then probably the head of the agricultural section of the Volkovysk rayon paper would not have applied to be a cattle-yard worker. A noteworthy fact by itself, reflecting as in a drop of water the material situation of press employees. Perhaps, as one speech noted, there is cause to declare a strike like the miners?

"Hopelessness and despair" could describe the tone of the speeches of several delegates representing the Belorussian-language and rayon press at the congress. The market, suddenly hitting the press, has left dozens of publications on the brink of catastrophe. Such venerable Belorussian magazines as POLMYA and BELARUS, newspapers like LITERATURA I MASTATSTVA, CHYRVONAYA ZMENA, GOLAS RADZYMY and many others are threatened with closure. The reason is the same: the disrespectful attitude towards the Belorussian language instilled over decades leaves them today with practically no chance of success in the bitter struggle for subscribers. The delegates noted that in such a situation it would be logical for the state to support these publications, to allocate them necessary subsidies from the budget as is done in many civilized countries. The silence of the parliament and government of the republic, which recently adopted the Law on Languages and the State Program for Resurrection and Development of the Belorussian Language as the main instrument for preservation and progress of the national culture, appears strange and inexplicable in such a situation.

We should also reiterate that rayon newspapers, most of them in Belorussian, are also in an unenviable position. Given the draconian prices of paper, typesetting services and "Soyuzpechat", only those with a circulation of over 20,000 can remain afloat. But such lucky ones can be counted on the fingers of one hand, stressed the delegates A. Gayduk, M. Trushko, N. Kislyak and others. All the others can only be saved from inevitable bankruptcy by financial assistance from their founders or the generosity of sponsors.

There are such examples in the republic: collective farms, enterprises and even some cooperatives have gladly contributed several thousand, or even tens of thousands of rubles to save rayon papers. A kind, noble gesture? It depends. It cannot be excluded that a voluntary contribution today could be viewed tomorrow by some as a payoff against criticism, an indulgence eliminating both past and future sins. And how then could editors who have fallen into the iron embrace of generous sponsors demonstrate independence, ethics and a sharply critical viewpoint?

Most rayon newspapers have not yet been registered. In some cases, because the raykoms cannot agree with the rayispokoms on which of them will be the founder or

under which conditions they will be a friendly tandem. In Molodechno—God only knows how big it is—the absence of agreement has resulted in the creation of two newspapers, a party one and a council one, which are faced with a difficult struggle for readers and existence.

Unfortunately, an idea was not presented at the congress which to us, two of its accredited delegates, seems worthy of attention. The experience of several countries (GDR, Czechoslovakia) has shown the effectiveness and usefulness of regional newspapers, which in our case cover the life of three or four rayons at once. Today, when we are gradually moving from bureaucratic ambitions of "Everything here should be mine" to common sense and economic logic, one would think that we should not forego such a possibility. Obviously, it will make it possible to bring together the best journalistic abilities, material resources and transport. Even just a two-fold increase in an issue will enable a savings of presently very scarce paper, eliminate the need to take articles for typesetting and printing "to the next world" and bring them back again, and raise newspapers' speed of reporting... It cannot be excluded that along with the advantages, enlargement and expansion of the sphere of influence will also reveal certain minuses and generate unexpected problems. Of course, they must be carefully studied, everything must be weighed, and the optimum solution must be adopted which best meets the conditions and possibilities of a given region.

The topic of Chernobyl could also not fail to come up at a journalist's congress. Yes, one could criticize our brother for many sins, such as helping disreputable politicians and scientists spread disinformation, or, by obeying the multifaceted "taboos" of Glavlit, participating in the long conspiracy of silence, fearful in its possible consequences. But believe us, this was not our fault, but a bitter tragedy. How were the BELTA correspondents guilty who, from the first hour of relocation of those in the "zone," provided ongoing front-line reporting which then spent several days in the offices of the nomenklatura and was only published on May 8 in a truncated, emasculated form?

How many of us then had job assignments to the "zone," meeting with courage and cowardice, truth and hypocrisy, selflessness and greed? How many painful hours were spent relating what we had seen, searching for the right word, the sole precise phrase? And how much moral strength was spent defending them from the blind guillotine of the ideological censor above?

We only travel to the suffering regions now and then, yet hundreds of our colleagues live and work there permanently. Their work was described at the congress by Mariya Gotovchits of the GOMELSKAYA PRAUDA. There are now 70 journalist jobs vacant in the oblast. In some rayons, generally the most difficult ones, a newspaper is put out by only 3-4 persons. But they are categorically prohibited from sharing even part of the total remaining staff. For some reason, journalists do not receive many of the benefits introduced for specialists of

other professions. For example, the pay of a rayon prosecutor is almost double that of a newspaper editor. And, of course, no one would even think that a journalist working in the "zone" from the first days after the accident could be given, say, the status of a cleanup worker or put on a par with other categories of workers enjoying additional benefits.

The congress adopted a special resolution directing the council and executive committee of the union to appeal to the republic government to establish for journalists working in contaminated areas the right to retire at 55 for men and at 50 for women. This means that the management of the Union of Journalists must submit a proposal to the appropriate agencies to leave to the managements of newspapers and magazines half of their cost-accounting income. In addition, small enterprises must be established for editorial staff and primary journalistic organizations, part of whose income would go to the Journalists Fund of the republic's Union of Journalists.

The congress participants adopted an appeal to the republic's Supreme Soviet, the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers and the Belorussian CP Central Committee.

#### Appeals to Government for Support

91UN0209B Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA  
in Russian 24 Oct 90 p 3

[Appeal by the Belorussian SSR Union of Journalists to Republic Authorities for better treatment]

#### [Text] APPEAL

#### Of the 8th Congress of the Union of Journalists of Belorussia

To the Supreme Soviet of the Belorussian SSR, Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers and Central Committee of the Belorussian Communist Party

There are over three thousand persons in the Union of Journalists of the republic, its largest creative organization.

The journalist collectives earn millions of rubles in profits, but due to a discriminatory distribution policy they themselves have almost nothing: not a sanitorium or dispensary, a polyclinic or a House of Creativity. Many journalists have been waiting for years for apartments; they are not remembered when they have breathed their last breath. Not all of them live until retirement age, closing the table of eternity next to miners. Journalists are veterans of the Great Patriotic War and of labor, of which there are over half a thousand; they receive miserly pensions which are increased only slightly and after review. The Union of Journalists, unlike other creative organizations, has no resources for materially assisting our colleagues.

With the transition to cost-accounting, the local press has found itself in a difficult position due to exorbitant

prices for communication and trade services, paper and typesetting. It is possible that many journalists will become unemployed. The efforts of our union here alone are inadequate. Decisive, quick action is necessary from founders, publishers and the government of the republic.

The republic's Union of Journalists is urgently in need of office space and transportation vehicles.

Great difficulties are encountered in setting up publishing activities. The council of ministers is not solving the problem of supplying paper. The financial agencies for some reason put our union in a class with cooperatives.

In June of this year, the plenum of the Union of Journalists of Belorussia addressed these and other questions to the chairman of the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers, Comrade V.F. Kebich. No answer has been received to date.

#### **WE URGENTLY DEMAND:**

1. That the adoption of a republic law on the press guaranteeing freedom of speech and legal, social and economic protection of journalists be speeded up.
2. That the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers adopt a special decree guaranteeing to rayon, multiple-circulation press and certain Belorussian language publications a subsidy from the central budget for a minimum of two years.
3. That the Belorussian SSR Union of Journalists be granted rights of publishing activity and provided with paper and typesetting facilities, and that the taxes on our union be eliminated or substantially reduced.
4. That the questions raised by the plenum of the Belorussian SSR Union of Journalists in June of 1990 be resolved.
5. That prompt assistance be provided in assigning one of the administrative buildings in Minsk for a House of Journalists when staff are reduced.

Adopted October 19, 1990.

#### **Press Reporting Censured in Moldova**

91UN0263A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Nov 90  
Union Edition p 1

[Article by IZVESTIYA correspondent E. Kondratov: "Moldova: On a Difficult Road to Compromise"]

[Text] The people of Moldova greeted the last decision of the republic's parliament with a sigh of immense relief. The parliament ordered to disband, within a 24-hour period, all the volunteer units, workers' guard units, and self-defense units. The people have been under a lot of pressure, they are tired of the paramilitary order in the cities along the Dnestr, they are fed up with the aggressive volunteer road patrols, with all the information

about fights, trashed raykom [rayon party committee] buildings, and vandalized monuments.

But it is much harder to put the genie back into the bottle than to let him out. Moldova Government Decree No. 407, which was theoretically meant to placate the emotions and "relieve the sociopolitical situation," in reality became an instruction for the city and rayon leadership. Any delay or just lack of enthusiasm expressed by the administrators who were not eager to remove people from their work in the fields or in industrial plants and to send them to some unknown glory was viewed as a betrayal of popular interests. So, in some places volunteers started to remove the criminally unpatriotic Soviet power, as happened in Kagul, for instance.

On Monday, as I was writing this article, something similar was taking place in Ryshkany. The day before, at the very same time that the Moldova parliament session decided to immediately disband and disarm all kinds of volunteer units, some people were kept prisoner, under lock and key, in the Ryshkany rayon agro-industrial association. These prisoners were the rayon Soviet deputies. Local activists of the People's Front, together with volunteers, were keeping them there in an attempt to assemble a quorum. The activists were demanding that the rayon Soviet presidium be dissolved. Why? Also for being unpatriotic...

They did not get a quorum anyway. But today this ochlocratic lawlessness has been repeated literally in every detail. The only difference being that this time they did get the deputies' quorum for the session. The rayon Soviet chairman, D. Gutsu, declared his resignation. The deputies took a secret ballot and voted for him to stay. So, after the session was over, they were simply not allowed out of the building. They were threatened and blackmailed and finally they gave in as they were made to accept Gutsu's resignation.

Something of a similar nature took place in Dubossary. On the morning of 2 November a big crowd, mostly of veterans and excited women, surrounded the procuracy, the court building, and later the rayon Soviet building. They also wanted to force down the ones they did not like; in other words, they also flagrantly violated the law. Meanwhile, dozens of men got armed with whatever they could find and blocked the bridge, as they decided not to allow anyone through from "the neighbor state across the Dnestr."

Only three days before these events IZVESTIYA wrote about the danger of political myths that could confuse many thousands of people. The frenzy of those who "would not sacrifice their principles," ready to believe fanatically in every demagogue with a loud voice—the Moldovans have been simmering in this political stew on both banks of the Dnestr far too long. Some were dazed by their hatred of "separatists," others—by their anger at the "nationalists," and all of them forgot that there were real people on both sides. Fathers, mothers, children, old people.

It is hard to talk to people if they are under the spell of myths. But we should have done it, we should have. We could have expected a parliament deputy, the prosecutor, an investigator to go to Dubossary immediately after Kishinev learned about the lawless actions there. Who else could have gone there?

But they did not go. An armed militia force moved out there to suppress the revolt. We have been hearing this phrase for a long time now: "Enough being nice to the separatists!" As the president of Moldova left for Moscow they stopped being nice. The commander in chief gave the orders...

We could see on television screens how furiously the left bank residents repelled the militiamen's attempt to move in. But be they wrong a thousand times more, the government machine should not have trod upon the quick. The Tbilisi events had had the same foundation: There the government raised arms against the rebellious people acting and thinking differently from the way the government would have liked them to. It is happening again now—again there are machine-guns and "chermukha" gas. Even bloody lessons do not teach us anything, though we have seen on many occasions how the South Korean police subdue unruly crowds. They subdue them but not for ever.

I am sure that both the investigators and the parliament will explore the "war game," as Deputy V. Berlinskiy called it, which was conducted in Dubossary by the armed militia units sent by the Moldova Government "to restore order." Because of that I will not tell you what I heard from the people of Dubossary when I was there. The only thing I would like to mention is that the "Rybnitsa commandos," who passed through the city as they were returning from the south, had nothing to do with all of that. They had left for home the day before. In general, I did not learn much. It is impossible to get involved in any investigative journalism in Dubossary now, as the people are angry and indignant; they resort to curses and screaming. Everybody is talking about the three dead Moldovans—Valeriy Mitskul and Vladimir Gotka, father of many children each, and Oleg Gelityuk, 18. The central press journalists are being showered with

reproaches—the people claim that the press would not disclose the horrible truth anyway.

However, we are being attacked now from both sides. It was already dark as I was returning from Dubossary. By the bridge, on the right bank of the river, we were captured by the Moldovan volunteers. They were excited, some were intoxicated, and some were simply drunk. They felt aggressive and ready almost to massacre the "Moscow guys" who, on top of everything, came from "the other bank."

We feel more and more often some muffled irritation at our undirected press. Our insignificant errors are definitely far from being the only cause of it. They are almost inevitable when we have zero official information and we try to waste no time in obtaining any data about whatever happens. Officials are not upset at our failures; they are scared by the wide, open discussions of facts and details of the tragedy that they would like to distort and hide or turn upside down altogether.

No, we are not attracted by a mere search for some compromising material today. We became used to such accusatory cliches a long time ago. We are concerned with the same issues that concern all ordinary people with normal mentality, people who do not want Novocherkassk, Tbilisi, and Dubossary to be repeated ever again. These days the parliament of Moldova displays its readiness to be simply human, the readiness to forget politics and think about people. The deputies went to the Dnestr and Gagauz towns and villages and you can imagine what they have to listen to there.

Patience. Courage. Restraint. Search for any possibility of compromise. No emotions—they have already led us too far. We should try to persuade people, make them change their mind. Violence is powerless today.

On the radio you can hear them asking for donations for the upkeep of Moldovan volunteers. In Tiraspol, they are collecting money for the city defense fund...

In Dubossary, three people have already been buried on the square, next to the mass grave...

**Census Data on Changes in Nationality Composition**

[Text]

91UN0356A Moscow SOYUZ in Russian  
No 44, Nov 90 pp 15-16

[Table: "How the Population of People's of the USSR Has Changed"]

**How the Population of People's of the USSR Has Changed  
(According to Census Data for 1959, 1970, 1979, and 1989)**

<b>All Population</b>	<b>1959</b>	<b>1970</b>	<b>1979</b>	<b>1989</b>	<b>Change in Population</b>				<b>Dynamics, in percent</b>			
					<b>1970-1959</b>	<b>1979-1970</b>	<b>1989-1979</b>	<b>1989-1959</b>	<b>1970/1959</b>	<b>1979/1970</b>	<b>1989/1979</b>	<b>1989/1959</b>
Abazins	19,591	25,448	29,497	33,613	5,857	4,049	4,116	14,022	129.9	115.9	114.0	171.6
Abkhazians	65,430	83,240	90,915	105,308	17,810	7,675	14,393	39,878	127.2	109.2	115.8	160.9
Avars	270,394	396,297	482,844	600,989	125,903	86,547	118,145	330,595	146.6	121.8	124.5	222.3
Austrians	—	—	—	504	—	—	—	504	—	—	—	—
Aguls	6,709	8,831	12,078	18,740	2,122	3,247	6,662	12,031	131.6	136.8	155.2	279.3
Adygeys	79,631	99,855	108,711	124,826	20,224	8,856	16,115	45,195	125.4	108.9	114.8	156.8
Azerbaijanis	2,939,728	4,379,937	5,477,330	6,770,403	1,440,209	1,097,393	1,293,073	3,830,675	149.9	125.1	123.6	230.3
Albanians	5,258	4,402	4,336	3,988	-856	-66	-348	-1,270	83.7	98.5	92.0	75.8
Aleutians	421	441	546	702	20	105	156	281	104.8	123.8	128.6	166.7
Altays	45,270	55,812	60,015	70,777	10,542	4,203	10,762	25,507	123.3	107.5	117.9	156.3
Americans	—	—	—	277	—	—	—	277	—	—	—	—
English	—	—	—	348	—	—	—	348	—	—	—	—
Arabs	7,987	—	6,813	7,747	—	—	934	-240	—	—	113.7	97.0
Armenians	2,786,912	3,559,151	4,151,241	4,623,232	772,239	592,090	471,991	1,836,320	127.7	116.6	111.4	165.9
Assyrians	21,803	24,294	25,170	26,160	2,491	876	990	4,357	111.4	103.6	103.9	120.0
Afghans	1,855	4,184	3,983	6,695	2,329	-201	2,712	4,840	225.6	95.2	168.1	360.9
Balkars	42,408	59,501	66,334	85,126	17,093	6,833	18,792	42,718	140.3	11.5	128.3	200.7
Bashkirs	989,040	1,239,681	1,371,452	1,449,157	250,641	131,771	77,705	460,117	125.3	110.6	105.7	146.5
Belorussians	7,913,488	9,051,755	9,462,715	10,036,251	1,138,267	410,960	573,536	2,122,763	114.4	104.5	106.1	126.8
Beluchi	7,842	12,582	18,997	28,796	4,740	6,415	9,799	20,954	160.4	151.0	151.6	367.2
Bulgarians	324,251	351,168	361,082	372,941	26,917	9,914	11,859	48,690	108.3	102.8	103.3	115.0
Buryats	252,959	314,671	352,646	421,380	61,712	37,975	68,734	168,421	124.4	112.1	119.5	166.6
Hungarians	154,738	166,451	170,553	171,420	11,713	4,102	867	16,682	107.6	102.5	100.5	110.8
Veps	16,374	8,281	8,094	12,501	-8,093	-187	4,407	-3,873	50.6	97.7	154.4	76.3
Vietnamese	838	—	2,785	3,396	—	—	611	2,558	—	—	121.9	405.3
Gagauz	123,821	156,606	173,179	197,768	32,785	16,573	24,589	73,947	126.5	110.6	114.2	159.7
Dutch	—	—	—	794	—	—	—	794	—	—	—	—
Greeks	309,308	336,869	343,809	358,068	27,561	6,940	14,259	48,760	108.9	102.1	104.1	115.8
Georgians	2,691,950	3,245,300	3,570,504	3,981,045	553,350	325,204	410,541	1,289,095	120.6	110.0	111.5	147.9
Dargins	158,149	230,932	287,282	365,038	72,783	56,350	77,756	206,889	146.0	124.4	127.1	230.8

**How the Population of People's of the USSR Has Changed  
(According to Census Data for 1959, 1970, 1979, and 1989) (Continued)**

	1959	1970	1979	1989	Change in Population				Dynamics, in percent			
					1970-1959	1979-1970	1989-1979	1989-1959	1970/1959	1979/1970	1989/1979	1989/1959
All Population	1959	1970	1979	1989	1970-1959	1979-1970	1989-1979	1989-1959	1970/1959	1979/1970	1989/1979	1989/1959
Dolgans	—	4,877	5,053	6,945	4,877	176	1,892	6,945	—	103.6	137.4	—
Dungans	21,928	38,644	51,694	69,323	16,716	13,050	17,629	47,395	176.2	133.8	134.1	316.1
Jews	2,267,814	2,150,707	1,810,876	1,378,344	-117,107	-339,831	-432,532	-889,470	94.8	84.2	76.1	60.8
Highland Jews	—	—	—	18,513	—	—	—	18,513	—	—	—	—
Georgian Jews	—	—	—	16,054	—	—	—	16,054	—	—	—	—
Central Asian Jews	—	—	—	36,152	—	—	—	36,152	—	—	—	—
Izhors	1,062	781	748	820	-281	-33	72	-242	73.5	95.8	109.6	77.2
Ingush	105,980	157,605	186,198	237,438	51,625	28,593	51,240	131,458	148.7	118.1	127.5	224.0
Spaniards	2,446	—	3,039	3,172	—	—	133	726	—	—	104.4	129.7
Italians	1,158	—	—	1,337	—	—	—	179	—	—	—	115.5
Itelmens	1,109	1,301	1,370	2,481	192	69	1,111	1,372	117.3	105.3	181.1	223.7
Kabardians	203,620	279,928	321,719	390,814	76,308	41,791	69,095	187,194	137.5	114.9	121.5	191.9
Kazakhs	3,621,610	5,298,818	6,556,442	8,135,818	1,677,208	1,257,624	1,579,376	4,514,208	146.3	123.7	124.1	224.6
Kalmyks	106,066	137,194	146,631	173,821	31,128	9,437	27,190	67,755	129.3	106.9	118.5	163.9
Karaites	5,727	4,571	3,341	2,602	-1,156	-1,230	-739	-3,125	79.8	73.1	77.9	45.4
Karakalpaks	172,556	236,009	303,324	423,520	63,453	67,315	120,196	250,964	136.8	128.5	139.6	245.4
Karachays	81,403	112,741	131,074	155,936	31,338	18,333	24,862	74,533	138.5	116.3	119.0	191.6
Karelians	167,278	146,081	138,429	130,929	-21,197	-7,652	-7,500	-36,349	87.3	94.8	94.6	78.3
Kets	1,019	1,182	1,122	1,113	163	-60	-9	94	116.0	94.9	99.2	109.2
Kirghiz	968,659	1,452,222	1,906,271	2,528,946	483,563	454,049	622,675	1,560,287	149.9	131.3	132.7	261.1
Chinese	25,781	—	12,021	11,355	—	—	-666	-14,426	—	—	94.5	44.0
Komis	287,027	321,894	326,700	344,519	34,867	4,806	17,819	57,492	112.1	101.5	105.5	120.0
Komi-Pere myaks	143,901	153,451	150,768	152,060	9,550	-2,683	1,292	8,159	106.6	98.3	100.9	105.7
Koreans	313,735	357,507	388,926	438,650	43,772	31,419	49,724	124,915	114.0	108.8	112.8	139.8
Koryaks	6,287	7,487	7,879	9,242	1,200	392	1,363	2,955	119.1	105.2	117.3	147.0
Crimeans	—	—	—	1,448	—	—	—	1,448	—	—	—	—
Cubans	—	—	2,593	2,811	—	—	218	—	—	—	108.4	—
Kumyks	134,967	188,792	228,418	281,933	53,825	39,626	53,515	146,966	139.9	121.0	123.4	208.9
Kurds	58,799	88,930	115,858	152,717	30,131	26,928	36,859	93,918	151.2	130.3	131.8	259.7
Laks	63,529	85,822	100,148	118,074	22,293	14,326	17,926	54,545	135.1	116.7	117.9	185.9
Latvians	1,399,539	1,429,844	1,439,037	1,458,986	30,305	9,193	19,949	59,447	102.2	100.6	101.4	104.2
Lezghins	223,129	323,829	382,611	466,006	100,700	58,782	83,395	242,877	145.1	118.2	121.8	208.9
Livs	—	—	—	226	—	—	—	226	—	—	—	—
Lithuanians	2,326,094	2,664,944	2,850,905	3,067,390	338,850	185,961	216,485	741,296	114.6	107.0	107.6	131.9
Mansi	6,449	7,710	7,563	8,474	1,261	-147	911	2,025	119.6	98.1	112.0	131.4
Maris	504,205	598,628	621,961	670,868	94,423	23,333	48,907	166,663	118.7	103.9	107.9	133.1

**How the Population of People's of the USSR Has Changed  
(According to Census Data for 1959, 1970, 1979, and 1989) (Continued)**

	1959	1970	1979	1989	Change in Population				Dynamics, in percent			
					1970-1959	1979-1970	1989-1979	1989-1959	1970/1959	1979/1970	1989/1979	1989/1959
All Population	1959	1970	1979	1989	1970-1959	1979-1970	1989-1979	1989-1959	1970/1959	1979/1970	1989/1979	1989/1959
Moldavians	2,214,139	2,697,994	2,968,224	3,352,352	483,855	270,230	384,128	1,138,213	121.9	110.0	112.9	151.4
Mordovians	1,285,116	1,262,670	1,191,765	1,153,987	-22,446	-70,905	-37,778	-131,129	98.3	94.4	96.8	89.8
Nanaians	8,026	10,005	10,516	12,023	1,979	511	1,507	3,997	124.7	105.1	114.3	149.8
Peoples of India and Pakistan	—	1,945	—	1,728	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Nganasans	748	953	867	1,278	205	-86	411	530	127.4	91.0	147.4	170.9
Negidals	—	537	504	622	—	-33	118	—	—	93.9	123.4	—
Germans	1,619,655	1,846,317	1,936,214	2,038,603	226,662	89,897	102,389	418,948	114.0	104.9	105.3	125.9
Nentsy	23,007	28,705	29,894	34,665	5,698	1,189	4,771	11,658	124.8	104.1	116.0	150.7
Nivkhi	3,717	4,420	4,397	4,673	703	-23	276	-956	118.9	99.5	106.3	125.7
Nogays	38,583	51,784	59,546	75,181	13,201	7,762	15,635	36,598	134.2	115.0	126.3	194.9
Oroki	—	—	—	190	—	—	—	190	—	—	—	—
Orochi	782	1,089	1,198	915	307	109	-283	133	139.3	110.0	76.4	117.0
Osetians	412,592	488,039	541,893	597,998	75,447	53,854	56,105	185,406	118.3	111.0	110.4	144.9
Persians	20,766	27,501	31,313	40,176	6,735	3,812	8,863	19,410	132.4	113.9	128.3	193.5
Poles	1,380,282	1,167,523	1,150,991	1,126,334	-212,759	-16,532	-24,657	-253,948	84.6	98.6	97.9	81.6
Romanians	106,366	119,292	128,792	146,071	12,926	9,500	17,279	39,705	112.2	108.0	113.4	137.3
Russians	114,113,579	129,015,140	137,397,089	145,155,489	14,901,561	8,381,949	7,758,400	31,041,910	113.1	106.5	105.6	127.2
Rutuls	6,732	12,071	15,032	20,388	5,339	2,961	5,356	13,656	179.3	124.5	135.6	302.9
Lapps	1,792	1,884	1,888	1,890	92	4	2	98	105.1	100.2	100.1	105.5
Selkups	3,768	4,282	3,565	3,612	514	-717	47	-156	113.6	83.3	101.3	95.9
Serbs	—	—	1,737	2,685	—	—	948	—	—	—	154.6	—
Slovaks	14,674	11,658	9,409	9,060	-3,016	-2,249	-349	5,614	79.4	80.7	96.3	61.7
Tabasarians	34,700	55,188	75,239	97,531	20,488	20,051	22,292	62,831	159.0	136.3	129.6	281.1
Tajiks	1,396,939	2,135,883	2,897,697	4,215,372	738,944	761,814	1,317,675	2,818,433	152.9	135.7	145.5	301.8
Talysh	—	—	—	21,602	—	—	—	21,602	—	—	—	—
Tatars	4,967,701	5,930,670	6,317,468	6,648,760	962,969	386,798	331,292	1,681,059	119.4	106.5	105.2	133.8
Crimean Tatars	—	—	—	271,715	—	—	—	271,715	—	—	—	—
Tats	11,463	17,109	22,441	30,669	5,646	5,332	8,228	19,206	149.3	131.2	136.7	267.5
Tofalars	586	620	763	731	34	143	-32	145	105.8	123.1	95.8	124.7
Tuvins	100,145	139,388	166,082	206,629	39,243	26,694	40,547	106,484	139.2	119.2	124.4	206.3
Turks	35,306	—	92,689	207,512	-35,306	92,689	114,823	172,206	—	—	223.9	587.8
Turkmens	1,001,585	1,525,284	2,027,913	2,728,965	523,699	502,629	701,052	1,727,380	152.3	133.0	134.6	272.5
Udins	3,678	5,919	6,863	7,971	2,241	944	1,108	4,293	160.9	115.9	116.1	216.7
Udmurts	624,794	704,328	713,696	746,793	79,534	9,368	33,097	121,999	112.7	101.3	104.6	119.5
Udegeys	1,444	1,469	1,551	2,011	25	32	460	567	101.7	105.6	129.7	139.3
Uzbeks	6,015,416	9,195,093	12,455,978	16,697,825	3,179,677	3,260,885	4,241,847	10,682,409	152.9	135.5	134.1	277.6
Uighurs	95,208	173,276	210,612	262,643	78,068	37,336	52,031	167,435	182.0	121.5	124.7	275.9

**How the Population of People's of the USSR Has Changed  
(According to Census Data for 1959, 1970, 1979, and 1989) (Continued)**

	1959	1970	1979	1989	Change in Population				Dynamics, in percent			
					1970-1959	1979-1970	1989-1979	1989-1959	1970/1959	1979/1970	1989/1979	1989/1959
All Population	37,252,930	40,753,246	42,347,387	44,186,006	3,500,316	1,594,141	1,838,619	6,933,076	109.4	103.9	104.3	118.6
Ukrainians	2,055	2,448	2,552	3,233	393	104	681	1,178	119.1	104.2	126.7	157.3
Finns	92,717	84,750	77,079	67,359	-7,967	-7,671	-9,720	-25,358	91.4	90.9	87.4	72.7
French	1,013	2,470	—	701	1,457	—	—	-312	243.8	—	—	69.2
Khakass	56,584	66,725	70,776	80,328	10,141	4,051	9,552	23,744	117.9	106.1	113.5	142.0
Khalkha-Mongolians	1,774	5,170	3,228	2,950	3,396	-1,942	-278	1,176	291.4	62.4	91.4	166.3
Khanty	19,410	21,138	20,934	22,521	1,728	-204	1,587	3,111	108.9	99.0	107.6	116.0
Croats	—	—	—	780	—	—	—	780	—	—	—	—
Tsa-khurs	7,321	11,103	13,478	19,972	3,782	2,375	6,494	12,651	151.7	121.4	148.2	272.8
Tsygans	132,014	175,335	209,159	262,015	43,321	33,824	52,856	130,001	132.8	119.3	125.3	198.5
Circassians	30,453	39,785	46,470	52,363	9,332	6,685	5,893	21,910	130.6	116.8	112.7	171.9
Czechs	24,557	20,981	17,812	16,102	-3,576	-3,169	-1,710	-8,455	85.4	84.9	90.4	65.6
Chechens	418,756	612,674	755,782	956,879	193,918	143,108	201,097	538,123	146.3	123.4	126.6	228.5
Chuvans	—	—	—	1,511	—	—	—	1,511	—	—	—	—
Chuvash	1,469,766	1,694,351	1,751,366	1,842,346	224,585	57,015	90,980	372,580	115.3	103.4	105.2	125.3
Chukchi	11,727	13,597	14,000	15,184	1,870	403	1,184	3,457	115.9	103.0	108.5	129.5
Shors	15,274	16,494	16,033	16,652	1,220	-461	619	1,378	108.0	97.2	103.9	109.0
Evenkis	24,710	25,149	27,294	30,163	439	2,145	2,869	5,453	101.8	108.5	110.5	122.1
Evens	9,121	12,029	12,523	17,199	2,908	494	4,676	8,078	131.9	104.1	137.3	188.6
Entsy	—	—	—	209	—	—	—	209	—	—	—	—
Eskimos	1,118	1,308	1,510	1,719	190	202	209	601	117.0	115.4	113.8	153.8
Estonians	988,616	1,007,356	1,019,851	1,026,649	18,740	12,495	6,798	38,033	101.9	101.2	100.7	103.8
Yukagirs	442	615	835	1,142	173	220	307	700	139.1	135.8	136.8	258.4
Yakuts	236,655	296,244	328,018	381,922	59,589	31,774	53,904	145,267	125.2	110.7	116.4	161.4
Japanese	961	—	—	683	—	—	—	-278	—	—	—	71.1
Yugoslavs	4,998	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Other nationalities	17,163	151,942	29,111	15,168	134,779	-122,831	-13,943	-1,995	—	—	—	—
Nationality not indicated	4,194	—	—	17,279	—	—	—	13,085	—	—	—	—
Total	208,826,650	241,720,134	262,084,654	285,742,511	32,893,484	20,364,520	23,657,857	76,915,861	115.8	108.4	109.0	136.8

**USSR Population Statistics by Republics, Capitals [Text]**  
**for 1989***91UN0356B Moscow VESTNIK STATISTIKI  
in Russian No 10, Oct 90 pp 35-40*

[Tables from USSR State Committee for Statistics]

**Table 1. Overall Results of Natural Population Movement for 1989**

Republic	Births	Deaths	Natural Growth	Marriages	Divorces	Number of Children Who Died Under Age of 1 Year	Per 1000 People					Infant Mortality Rate (per 1000 births)
							Births	Deaths	Natural Growth	Marriages	Divorces	
<b>All Population</b>												
USSR	5,062,231	2,874,535	2,187,696	2,711,040	972,010	116,259	17.6	10.0	7.6	9.4	3.4	22.7
RSFSR	2,160,559	1,583,743	576,816	1,384,307	582,500	39,030	14.6	10.7	3.9	9.4	3.9	17.8
Ukrainian SSR	690,981	600,590	90,391	489,330	193,676	9,039	13.3	11.6	1.7	9.5	3.7	13.0
Belorussian SSR	153,449	103,479	49,970	97,929	34,573	1,835	15.0	10.1	4.9	9.6	3.4	11.8
Uzbek SSR	668,807	126,862	541,945	200,681	29,953	25,459	33.3	6.3	27.0	10.0	1.5	37.7
Kazakh SSR	382,269	126,378	255,891	165,380	45,772	9,949	23.0	7.6	15.4	10.0	2.8	25.9
Georgian SSR	91,138	47,077	44,061	38,288	7,358	1,787	16.7	8.6	8.1	7.0	1.4	19.6
Azerbaijan SSR	181,631	44,016	137,615	71,874	11,436	4,749	26.4	6.4	20.0	10.4	1.7	26.2
Lithuanian SSR	55,782	38,150	17,632	34,630	12,295	597	15.1	10.3	4.8	9.3	3.3	10.7
Moldavian SSR	82,221	40,113	42,108	39,928	12,401	1,705	18.9	9.2	9.7	9.2	2.9	20.4
Latvian SSR	38,922	32,584	6,338	24,496	11,249	438	14.5	12.1	2.4	9.1	4.2	11.1
Kirghiz SSR	131,508	31,156	100,352	41,790	8,231	4,258	30.4	7.2	23.2	9.7	1.9	32.2
Tajik SSR	200,430	33,395	167,035	47,616	7,576	8,673	38.7	6.5	32.2	9.2	1.5	43.2
Armenian SSR	75,250	20,853	54,397	27,257	4,134	1,534	21.6	6.0	15.6	7.8	1.2	20.4
Turkmen SSR	124,992	27,609	97,383	34,890	4,940	6,847	35.0	7.7	27.3	9.8	1.4	54.7
Estonian SSR	24,292	18,530	5,762	12,644	5,916	359	15.4	11.7	3.7	8.0	3.8	14.7
<b>Urban Population</b>												
USSR	2,946,146	1,766,919	1,179,227	1,842,265	820,675	57,716	15.5	9.3	6.2	9.7	4.3	19.4
RSFSR	1,520,741	1,088,471	432,270	1,042,489	494,085	26,671	14.0	10.0	4.0	9.6	4.5	17.3
Ukrainian SSR	471,104	340,756	130,348	352,228	167,140	6,153	13.6	9.8	3.8	10.1	4.8	13.0
Belorussian SSR	110,472	47,254	63,218	69,066	28,550	1,286	16.4	7.0	9.4	10.3	4.2	11.6
Uzbek SSR	213,379	53,913	159,466	79,339	20,891	7,366	26.1	6.6	19.5	9.7	2.6	34.1

**Table 1. Overall Results of Natural Population Movement for 1989 (Continued)**

Republic	Births	Deaths	Natural Growth	Marriages	Divorces	Number of Children Who Died Under Age of 1 Year	Per 1000 People					Infant Mortality Rate (per 1000 births)
							Births	Deaths	Natural Growth	Marriages	Divorces	
<b>All Population</b>												
Kazakh SSR	193,394	73,598	119,796	98,372	37,691	4,797	20.3	7.7	12.6	10.3	4.0	24.6
Georgian SSR	49,244	23,864	25,380	23,222	6,710	1,142	16.2	7.8	8.4	7.6	2.2	23.2
Azerbaijan SSR	85,930	22,981	62,949	35,974	10,723	2,010	23.1	6.2	16.9	9.7	2.9	23.3
Lithuanian SSR	36,819	20,239	16,580	23,743	10,004	379	14.6	8.0	6.6	9.4	4.0	10.3
Moldavian SSR	36,676	14,366	22,310	21,077	11,228	642	17.9	7.0	10.9	10.3	5.5	17.3
Latvian SSR	25,702	21,035	4,667	19,282	9,257	278	13.5	11.0	2.5	10.1	4.8	10.7
Kirghiz SSR	38,943	11,717	27,226	15,682	5,197	1,114	23.6	7.1	16.5	9.5	3.1	28.3
Tajik SSR	47,345	10,650	36,695	16,264	5,305	1,873	28.2	6.3	21.9	9.7	3.2	39.4
Armenian SSR	47,871	13,718	34,153	18,036	3,762	947	20.0	5.7	14.3	7.5	1.6	19.8
Turkmen SSR	52,006	12,576	39,430	16,592	4,625	2,811	32.1	7.8	24.3	10.2	2.9	54.2
Estonian SSR	16,520	11,781	4,739	10,899	5,507	247	14.6	10.4	4.2	9.6	4.9	14.9
<b>Rural Population</b>												
USSR	2,116,085	1,107,616	1,008,469	868,775	151,335	58,543	21.6	11.3	10.3	8.9	1.5	27.4
RSFSR	639,818	495,272	144,546	341,818	88,415	12,359	16.4	12.7	3.7	8.8	2.3	18.9
Ukrainian SSR	219,877	259,834	-39,957	137,102	26,536	2,886	12.9	15.2	-2.3	8.0	1.6	13.0
Belorussian SSR	42,977	56,225	-13,248	28,863	6,023	549	12.3	16.1	-3.8	8.3	1.7	12.5
Uzbek SSR	455,428	72,949	382,479	121,342	9,062	18,093	38.2	6.1	32.1	10.2	0.8	39.4
Kazakh SSR	188,875	52,780	136,095	67,008	8,081	5,152	26.7	7.4	19.3	9.5	1.1	27.3
Georgian SSR	41,894	23,213	18,681	15,066	648	645	17.4	9.7	7.7	6.3	0.3	15.3
Azerbaijan SSR	95,701	21,035	74,666	35,900	713	2,739	30.1	6.6	23.5	11.3	0.2	29.0
Lithuanian SSR	18,963	17,911	1,052	10,887	2,291	218	16.1	15.2	0.9	9.2	1.9	11.5
Moldavian SSR	45,545	25,747	19,798	18,851	1,173	1,063	19.8	11.2	8.6	8.2	0.5	23.0
Latvian SSR	13,220	11,549	1,671	5,214	1,992	160	17.1	14.9	2.2	6.7	2.6	12.0
Kirghiz SSR	92,565	19,439	73,126	26,108	3,034	3,144	34.6	7.3	27.3	9.8	1.1	33.9
Tajik SSR	153,085	22,745	130,340	31,352	2,271	6,800	43.8	6.5	37.3	9.0	0.6	44.4

**Table 1. Overall Results of Natural Population Movement for 1989 (Continued)**

Republic	Births	Deaths	Natural Growth	Marriages	Divorces	Number of Children Who Died Under Age of 1 Year	Per 1000 People					Infant Mortality Rate (per 1000 births)
							Births	Deaths	Natural Growth	Marriages	Divorces	
<b>All Population</b>												
Armenian SSR	27,379	7,135	20,244	9,221	372	587	25.3	6.6	18.7	8.5	0.3	21.5
Turkmen SSR	72,986	15,033	57,953	18,298	315	4,036	37.3	7.7	29.6	9.4	0.2	55.0
Estonian SSR	7,772	6,749	1,023	1,745	409	112	17.4	15.1	2.3	3.9	0.9	14.5

**Table 2. Births by Sequence of Birth by Union Republics in 1989**

Republic	Total Births	Including by Sequence of Birth										
		First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	Seventh	Eighth	Ninth	Tenth or More	Not Indicated
USSR	5,062,231	2,099,366	1,683,706	672,992	281,177	153,038	75,263	39,988	23,257	13,549	15,078	4,817
RSFSR	2,160,559	1,003,272	787,604	240,715	68,095	33,619	13,120	6,033	3,115	1,772	1,963	1,251
Ukrainian SSR	690,981	341,431	257,238	60,181	16,458	8,029	3,509	1,712	954	542	690	237
Belorussian SSR	153,449	74,540	59,730	12,894	3,328	1,627	662	309	173	74	107	5
Uzbek SSR	668,807	188,389	171,863	125,413	79,846	47,609	24,936	13,238	7,660	4,259	4,393	1,201
Kazakh SSR	382,269	144,704	117,183	63,348	27,811	14,400	6,721	3,368	1,877	1,126	1,295	436
Georgian SSR	91,138	42,224	31,133	12,983	3,231	972	338	146	66	28	17	—
Azerbaijan SSR	181,631	67,359	55,209	33,770	14,259	5,653	2,517	1,140	638	362	510	214
Lithuanian SSR	55,782	26,932	20,380	5,556	1,615	758	295	116	58	33	37	2
Moldavian SSR	82,221	33,354	28,878	12,683	4,214	1,948	614	265	124	63	60	18
Latvian SSR	38,922	18,212	13,402	4,741	1,423	653	260	106	54	30	41	—
Kirghiz SSR	131,508	40,962	34,057	23,507	14,082	8,273	4,441	2,347	1,380	763	891	805
Tajik SSR	200,430	46,015	43,593	35,002	26,066	17,919	11,460	7,611	5,072	3,241	3,844	607
Armenian SSR	75,250	27,165	25,934	16,586	4,123	987	273	90	37	29	14	12
Turkmen SSR	124,992	34,114	29,079	22,180	15,602	10,151	5,965	3,442	2,016	1,212	1,202	29
Estonian SSR	24,292	10,693	8,423	3,433	1,024	440	152	65	33	15	14	—

Table 3. Life Expectancy at Birth by Union Republics in 1989 (in years)

Republic	All Population			Urban Population			Rural Population		
	Males and Females	Males	Females	Males and Females	Males	Females	Males and Females	Males	Females
USSR	69.5	64.6	74.0	70.1	65.2	74.4	68.5	63.5	73.2
RSFSR	69.9	64.2	74.5	69.9	64.8	74.5	68.5	62.6	74.2
Ukrainian SSR	70.9	66.1	75.2	71.1	66.7	75.1	70.1	64.8	75.0
Belorussian SSR	71.8	66.8	76.4	72.3	67.6	76.4	70.2	64.6	75.7
Uzbek SSR	69.2	66.0	72.1	69.0	65.1	72.6	69.7	67.1	72.1
Kazakh SSR	68.7	63.9	73.1	69.0	64.0	73.4	68.4	63.8	72.8
Georgian SSR	72.1	68.1	75.7	71.8	67.6	75.4	72.4	68.6	75.8
Azerbaijan SSR	70.6	66.6	74.2	70.9	66.8	74.7	70.5	66.6	74.0
Lithuanian SSR	71.8	66.9	76.3	72.7	68.1	76.7	69.7	64.4	75.3
Moldavian SSR	69.0	65.5	72.3	70.6	66.8	73.9	67.6	63.9	70.9
Latvian SSR	70.4	65.3	75.2	71.1	66.2	75.4	68.8	63.1	74.5
Kirghiz SSR	68.5	64.3	72.4	69.8	64.9	74.1	67.9	64.1	71.4
Tajik SSR	69.4	66.8	71.7	69.3	65.3	72.9	69.8	68.1	71.5
Armenian SSR	72.0	69.0	74.7	71.6	68.6	74.4	72.7	69.8	75.3
Turkmen SSR	65.2	61.8	68.4	65.3	61.0	69.4	65.2	62.9	67.5
Estonian SSR	70.6	65.8	75.0	71.3	66.5	75.5	69.0	64.3	73.8

Table 4. Natural Population Movement by Union Republic Capitals and Cities with Population over 1 Million in 1989

City	Births	Deaths	Natural Growth	Marriages	Divorces	Number of Children Who Died Under Age of 1 Year	Per 1000 People					Number of Children Who Died Under Age of 1 Year per 1000 Births
							Births	Deaths	Natural Growth	Marriages	Divorces	
Alma-Ata	18,722	9,486	9,236	13,015	5,705	371	16.5	8.3	8.2	11.4	5.0	19.6
Ashkhabad	9,336	2,879	6,457	4,076	1,523	421	23.1	7.1	16.0	10.1	3.8	44.7
Baku*	34,634	12,672	21,962	16,100	6,827	974	19.6	7.2	12.4	9.1	3.9	28.0
Vilnius	8,068	4,474	3,594	5,893	2,248	98	13.7	7.6	6.1	10.0	3.8	12.2
Gorkiy	17,721	15,821	1,900	13,083	5,134	259	12.3	11.0	1.3	9.1	3.6	14.5
Dnepropetrovsk	14,923	12,475	2,448	12,634	5,982	241	12.6	10.6	2.0	10.7	5.1	15.9
Donetsk	12,380	11,119	1,261	11,004	5,515	168	11.1	10.0	1.1	9.9	5.0	13.3
Dushanbe	13,628	3,943	9,685	5,340	2,298	436	22.8	6.6	16.2	8.9	3.8	32.0
Yerevan	22,852	7,712	15,140	9,451	2,435	485	18.9	6.4	12.5	7.8	2.0	21.3
Kazan	16,492	10,858	5,634	9,983	4,446	296	15.0	9.9	5.1	9.1	4.1	17.9
Kiev	35,284	21,471	13,813	26,737	13,700	474	13.6	8.3	5.3	10.3	5.3	13.4
Kishinev	11,823	4,452	7,371	7,803	3,701	217	17.6	6.6	11.0	11.6	5.5	18.1
Kuyby-shev	15,282	13,574	1,708	12,061	5,794	349	12.2	10.8	1.4	9.6	4.6	22.5

**Table 4. Natural Population Movement by Union Republic Capitals and Cities with Population over 1 Million in 1989  
(Continued)**

City	Births	Deaths	Natural Growth	Marriages	Divorces	Number of Children Who Died Under Age of 1 Year	Per 1000 People					Number of Children Who Died Under Age of 1 Year per 1000 Births
							Births	Deaths	Natural Growth	Marriages	Divorces	
Leningrad*	61,634	58,464	3,170	55,159	28,200	1,079	12.3	11.6	0.7	11.0	5.6	17.3
Minsk	25,354	10,316	15,038	15,906	7,217	339	15.8	6.4	9.4	9.9	4.5	13.3
Moscow*	106,070	111,202	-5,132	87,515	43,605	2,067	11.8	12.4	-0.6	9.7	4.9	19.2
Novosibirsk	19,177	14,227	4,950	15,121	7,465	381	13.3	9.9	3.4	10.5	5.2	19.6
Odessa	12,253	11,491	762	12,450	7,211	153	11.0	10.3	0.7	11.2	6.5	12.2
Omsk	17,331	10,132	7,199	12,824	6,342	333	15.0	8.8	6.2	11.1	5.5	19.0
Perm	15,316	10,147	5,169	10,431	4,199	263	14.0	9.3	4.7	9.5	3.8	17.0
Riga	11,464	10,269	1,195	9,245	4,549	126	12.5	11.2	1.3	10.1	5.0	10.9
Rostov-na-Donu	12,473	11,373	1,100	10,587	5,474	285	12.2	11.1	1.1	10.4	5.4	22.6
Sverdlovsk	18,274	13,020	5,254	13,555	5,620	287	13.4	9.5	3.9	9.9	4.1	15.5
Tallinn	6,693	4,991	1,702	4,942	2,305	108	13.9	10.3	3.6	10.2	4.8	16.0
Tashkent	42,778	16,199	26,579	22,129	8,484	1,079	20.5	7.8	12.7	10.6	4.1	25.1
Tbilisi	18,125	10,344	7,781	10,385	2,912	437	14.3	8.2	6.1	8.2	2.3	24.1
Ufa	16,497	9,171	7,326	8,964	4,304	344	15.2	8.4	6.8	8.2	4.0	20.6
Frunze	10,994	4,948	6,046	6,455	2,405	343	17.7	8.0	9.7	10.4	3.9	31.0
Kharkov	19,760	16,216	3,544	17,594	8,624	279	12.2	10.0	2.2	10.9	5.3	14.0
Chelyabinsk	16,097	10,645	5,452	11,432	5,282	272	14.1	9.3	4.8	10.0	4.6	16.6

\*Including localities subordinate to the city soviet.

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the country's population will change in the following manner:

**Table 1**

Year	All Population, in millions	Including population residing in:		Percentage of Urban Population
		Urban Localities	Rural Areas	
<b>At End of Year</b>				
1990	289.8	191.3	98.5	66.0
1995	301.3	201.6	99.7	66.9
2000	312.7	211.8	100.9	67.7
2005	324.2	221.8	102.4	68.4
2010	336.6	232.2	104.4	69.0
2015	348.9	242.5	106.4	69.5
<b>Growth in 5-Year Period</b>				
1991-1995	11.5	10.3	1.2	—
1996-2000	11.4	10.2	1.2	—
2001-2005	11.5	10.0	1.5	—
2006-2010	12.4	10.4	2.0	—
2011-2015	12.3	10.3	2.0	—

[Unattributed article: "USSR Population Forecast"]

[Text] The USSR State Committee for Statistics has made a preliminary calculation of the country's and union republics' population up to the year 2015.

The population's age and sex structure according to the 1989 census and indicators from the birth and mortality rate tables for 1988 were used in the calculation. The calculation took into account the migration planned by the USSR State Planning Committee from rural areas to the cities and between republics and possible changes in the birth and mortality rates. According to the forecast,

Between 1991 and 2015, the population will increase by 59.1 million people, or 20 percent. The rate of growth of the country's population will tend to decline somewhat: by the end of the century, the population will increase by an average of 0.8 percent annually and by 0.7 percent annually during the following 15 years.

Due to the high birth rate in the republics of Central Asia, the growth rate will average 2-2.6 percent a year. At the same time, the population of the Ukraine will increase only by 0.13 percent a year, and the population

of the Baltic republics, Belorussia, and the RSFSR will increase an average of 0.3-0.5 percent a year.

By the end of the year 2000, about 14 percent of the country's population will reside in republics of Central Asia; this figure will be more than 17 percent by 2015 compared to 11 percent in 1989. The RSFSR will account for less than half (49.7 percent) of the country's population by the end of the century and 47.5 percent in 2015; presently it accounts for 51.5 percent.

Table 2. Population Figures (at end of year, in thousands)

	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010	2015
<b>USSR</b>						
All Population	289,817	301,267	312,740	324,240	336,588	348,940
Urban Population	191,326	201,558	211,821	221,830	232,200	242,470
Rural Population	98,491	99,709	100,919	102,410	104,388	106,470
<b>RSFSR</b>						
All Population	148,341	151,994	155,444	158,749	162,339	165,701
Urban Population	109,462	113,616	117,504	121,107	124,779	128,209
Rural Population	38,879	38,378	37,940	37,642	37,560	37,492
<b>Ukrainian SSR</b>						
All Population	51,680	52,181	52,600	52,960	53,277	53,450
Urban Population	34,959	36,472	37,778	38,804	39,624	40,246
Rural Population	16,721	15,709	14,822	14,156	13,653	13,204
<b>Belorussian SSR</b>						
All Population	10,266	10,514	10,717	10,921	11,131	11,316
Urban Population	6,855	7,257	7,586	7,883	8,161	8,418
Rural Population	3,411	3,257	3,131	3,038	2,970	2,898
<b>Uzbek SSR</b>						
All Population	20,674	23,408	26,355	29,455	32,804	36,333
Urban Population	8,281	9,552	11,171	13,073	15,274	17,644
Rural Population	12,393	13,856	15,184	16,382	17,530	18,689
<b>Kazakh SSR</b>						
All Population	16,828	17,918	19,131	20,439	21,898	23,449
Urban Population	9,660	10,534	11,517	12,581	13,763	15,046
Rural Population	7,168	7,384	7,614	7,858	8,135	8,403
<b>Georgian SSR</b>						
All Population	5,434	5,617	5,795	5,958	6,117	6,270
Urban Population	3,032	3,193	3,351	3,505	3,664	3,882
Rural Population	2,402	2,424	2,444	2,453	2,453	2,448
<b>Azerbaijan SSR</b>						
All Population	7,208	7,810	8,383	8,929	9,504	10,112
Urban Population	3,904	4,282	4,697	5,127	5,559	6,104
Rural Population	3,304	3,528	3,686	3,802	3,905	4,008
<b>Lithuanian SSR</b>						
All Population	3,735	3,847	3,945	4,030	4,119	4,206
Urban Population	2,558	2,687	2,791	2,868	2,932	2,985

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ISSUES

**Table 2. Population Figures (at end of year, in thousands) (Continued)**

	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010	2015
Rural Population	1,177	1,160	1,154	1,162	1,187	1,221
<b>Moldavian SSR</b>						
All Population	4,381	4,543	4,726	4,936	5,171	5,398
Urban Population	2,103	2,295	2,469	2,620	2,771	2,921
Rural Population	2,278	2,248	2,257	2,316	2,400	2,477
<b>Latvian SSR</b>						
All Population	2,683	2,728	2,773	2,811	2,858	2,904
Urban Population	1,907	1,954	1,999	2,034	2,075	2,117
Rural Population	776	774	774	777	783	787
<b>Kirghiz SSR</b>						
All Population	4,425	4,920	5,459	6,011	6,607	7,256
Urban Population	1,675	1,922	2,250	2,609	2,996	3,408
Rural Population	2,750	2,998	3,209	3,402	3,611	3,848
<b>Tajik SSR</b>						
All Population	5,379	6,230	7,137	8,056	9,053	10,114
Urban Population	1,725	2,002	2,350	2,703	3,068	3,454
Rural Population	3,654	4,228	4,787	5,353	5,985	6,660
<b>Armenian SSR</b>						
All Population	3,498	3,768	3,991	4,222	4,471	4,706
Urban Population	2,414	2,714	2,985	3,232	3,476	3,717
Rural Population	1,084	1,054	1,006	990	995	989
<b>Turkmen SSR</b>						
All Population	3,701	4,170	4,634	5,086	5,538	5,998
Urban Population	1,656	1,913	2,189	2,482	2,804	3,148
Rural Population	2,045	2,257	2,445	2,604	2,734	2,850
<b>Estonian SSR</b>						
All Population	1,584	1,619	1,650	1,677	1,701	1,727
Urban Population	1,135	1,165	1,184	1,202	1,214	1,231
Rural Population	449	454	466	475	487	496

**Table 3. Working-Age Population (at end of year, in thousands)**

	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010	2015
<b>USSR</b>						
All Population	160,405	164,046	172,437	181,923	186,371	189,576
Urban Population	111,916	116,431	123,712	130,561	133,618	135,945
Rural Population	48,489	47,615	48,725	51,362	52,753	53,631
<b>RSFSR</b>						
All Population	84,058	84,763	88,059	91,173	90,776	89,894
Urban Population	64,397	65,985	69,116	71,630	71,463	70,923
Rural Population	19,661	18,778	18,943	19,543	19,313	18,971
<b>Ukrainian SSR</b>						
All Population	28,826	28,670	29,044	29,589	29,395	29,036
Urban Population	20,674	21,245	22,044	22,685	22,771	22,676
Rural Population	8,152	7,425	7,000	6,904	6,624	6,360

**Table 3. Working-Age Population (at end of year, in thousands) (Continued)**

	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010	2015
<b>Belorussian SSR</b>						
All Population	5,713	5,763	5,981	6,199	6,224	6,158
Urban Population	4,137	4,319	4,568	4,745	4,775	4,722
Rural Population	1,576	1,444	1,413	1,454	1,449	1,436
<b>Uzbek SSR</b>						
All Population	10,137	11,453	13,224	15,432	17,576	19,684
Urban Population	4,421	5,154	6,231	7,558	8,848	10,188
Rural Population	5,716	6,299	6,993	7,874	8,728	9,496
<b>Kazakh SSR</b>						
All Population	9,227	9,674	10,388	11,312	12,040	12,688
Urban Population	5,612	6,052	6,688	7,410	8,008	8,601
Rural Population	3,612	3,622	3,700	3,902	4,032	4,087
<b>Georgian SSR</b>						
All Population	3,027	3,047	3,144	3,270	3,341	3,387
Urban Population	1,760	1,817	1,903	1,994	2,056	2,111
Rural Population	1,267	1,230	1,241	1,276	1,285	1,276
<b>Azerbaijan SSR</b>						
All Population	3,941	4,195	4,623	5,135	5,561	5,823
Urban Population	2,213	2,421	2,740	3,079	3,352	3,572
Rural Population	1,728	1,774	1,883	2,056	2,209	2,251
<b>Lithuanian SSR</b>						
All Population	2,122	2,148	2,191	2,243	2,282	2,294
Urban Population	1,538	1,594	1,646	1,678	1,684	1,669
Rural Population	584	554	545	565	598	625
<b>Moldavian SSR</b>						
All Population	2,408	2,499	2,660	2,823	2,894	2,938
Urban Population	1,278	1,382	1,513	1,613	1,670	1,706
Rural Population	1,130	1,117	1,147	1,210	1,224	1,232
<b>Latvian SSR</b>						
All Population	1,506	1,496	1,512	1,546	1,560	1,562
Urban Population	1,103	1,101	1,115	1,136	1,145	1,149
Rural Population	403	395	397	410	415	413
<b>Kirghiz SSR</b>						
All Population	2,219	2,424	2,723	3,082	3,436	3,793
Urban Population	936	1,058	1,253	1,484	1,713	1,947
Rural Population	1,283	1,366	1,470	1,598	1,723	1,846
<b>Tajik SSR</b>						
All Population	2,522	2,854	3,328	3,963	4,649	5,331
Urban Population	907	1,047	1,253	1,501	1,745	1,998
Rural Population	1,615	1,807	2,075	2,462	2,904	3,333
<b>Armenian SSR</b>						
All Population	1,969	2,084	2,271	2,493	2,632	2,691
Urban Population	1,406	1,567	1,758	1,939	2,070	2,166
Rural Population	563	517	513	554	562	525

**Table 3. Working-Age Population (at end of year, in thousands) (Continued)**

	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010	2015
<b>Turkmen SSR</b>						
All Population	1,842	2,082	2,378	2,736	3,074	3,368
Urban Population	880	1,034	1,222	1,439	1,650	1,854
Rural Population	962	1,048	1,156	1,297	1,424	1,514
<b>Estonian SSR</b>						
All Population	888	894	911	927	931	929
Urban Population	654	655	662	670	668	663
Rural Population	234	239	249	257	263	266

The working-age population will increase by 29.2 million people, or 18.2 percent, during the period 1991-2015. The republics of Central Asia, Transcaucasia, and Kazakhstan will account for three-fourths of the increase, which will even further exacerbate the problem of employment in this region. By the end of this period, 30 percent of the country's working-age population will be concentrated in these republics. This population group will decrease in size in the Ukraine between 1991 and 1995; between the years 2006 and 2015 it will decrease by 1.3 million in the RSFSR and 0.6 million in the Ukraine. A decrease in the working-age population will also be noted in individual periods in Belorussia, Latvia, and Estonia.

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#### **Decree Implementing RSFSR Law on Religion**

*91UN0272B Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA  
in Russian 10 Nov 90 Second Edition p 1*

[“Resolution of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet on Procedure for Implementing the RSFSR Law ‘On Freedom of Religion’” For translation of this Law see JPRS Report Soviet Union: Political Affairs, JPRS-UPA-90-071 of 19 Dec 90]

[Text] The RSFSR Supreme Soviet resolves:

1. To implement the RSFSR Law “On Freedom of Religion” from the moment of its promulgation.
2. To consider as invalid in the territory of the RSFSR all normative acts of all USSR and RSFSR ministries and departments that contradict the RSFSR Law on Freedom of Religion.
3. That the Committee of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet on Freedom of Conscience, Religion, Charity, and Philanthropy, and the Committee on Legislation submit proposals to the Constitution Commission of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet regarding an appropriate amendment to the article of the RSFSR Constitution on freedom of conscience, and that these committees draw up and present for examination of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet proposals regarding the introduction of necessary changes in the RSFSR Criminal Code and RSFSR Code
- on Statutory Legal Violations proceeding from the RSFSR Law on Freedom of Religion.
4. To acknowledge as being invalidated:
  - the Decree of the RSFSR Soviet of People’s Commissioners of 23 January 1918 “On Separation of Church From State and of School From Church” (Collection of RSFSR Legislative Enactments, 1918, No. 18);
  - the resolution of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of Soviets of Worker, Peasant, and Red Army Deputies, and of the Soviet of People’s Commissars of the RSFSR, dated 8 April 1929 “On Religious Organizations” (Collection of RSFSR Legislative Enactments, 1929, No. 35, Article 353);
  - the Ukase of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet dated 23 June 1975 “On Introducing Amendments and Additions to the Resolution of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of Soviets of Worker, Peasant, and Red Army Deputies, and of the Soviet of People’s Commissars of the RSFSR, dated 8 April 1929 ‘On Religious Organizations’” (Register of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, 1975, No. 27, Article 572);
  - the RSFSR law of 15 July 1975 “On Ratification of the Ukase of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet ‘On Introducing Amendments and Additions to the Resolution of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of Soviets of Worker, Peasant, and Red Army Deputies, and of the Soviet of People’s Commissars of the RSFSR, dated 8 April 1929 ‘On Religious Organizations’” (Register of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, 1975, No. 29, Article 617).
5. To direct the Committee on Freedom of Conscience, Religion, Charity, and Philanthropy to develop, jointly with the Committee on Legislation, regulations on the Expert Review and Consultation Committee envisaged in Article 12 of this law and to submit these to the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet prior to 1 December 1990.

R.I. Khasbulatov, first deputy chairman  
RSFSR Supreme Soviet.  
RSFSR House of Soviets,  
Moscow, 25 October 1990

**Commentary on Patriarch Aleksiy's Visit to St Sofia**

*91UN0268A Kiev LITERATURNA UKRAYINA  
in Ukrainian 1 Nov 90 p 1*

[Article by unidentified LITERATURNA UKRAYINA correspondent: "The Rukh Congress... and Interdenominational Conflict"]

[Text] The last, or fourth day of the Second Congress of the Ukraine's National Rukh Movement held in the republic capital's Palace of Culture UKRAYINA October 25 to 28, began not at 9:00 in the morning as planned, but in the second half of the day. The reason for this was the arrival in Kiev of the Patriarch of Moscow and all Russia Aleksiy II and the events connected with his visit, which disturbed the souls of many believers and non-believers, in the Ukraine and beyond.

Friday, October 26, participants in the Congress sent Patriarch Aleksiy II a telegram, stating: "In conjunction with the planned visit of Your Holiness on October 28 in Kiev to celebrate Liturgy in St. Sofia Cathedral please take into consideration that such an act in today's strained circumstances will be evaluated not as a religious, but as a strictly political act, not compatible with national self-respect and the Ukrainian Declaration of National Sovereignty."

"In the interests of Christian peace and good-will between the Russian Orthodox Church and the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, the former owners of this cathedral, we ask that you not include St. Sofia Cathedral in Your Holiness' schedule of Liturgies, instead celebrating Liturgy in some other Church of God."

The next day the Congress approached the Chairman of the Ukrainian SSR's Supreme Soviet L. Kravchuk and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the republic V. Fokin with a statement, in which they indicated that the "celebration by Moscow Patriarch Aleksiy II and the hierarchy of the Moscow Patriarchate in St. Sofia Cathedral of Kiev might lead to a marked intensification of interfaith tension in all the Ukraine."

"The ancient cathedral of St. Sofia is a symbol for all Ukrainian Christians of spiritual unity and independence of the Ukrainian nation. As the center of the Kiev Metropolis, built by Yaroslav the Wise, it embodies Ukrainian national identity as well. Therefore the granting of permission for celebration of Holy Liturgy there by the Patriarch of Moscow is seen by many citizens as contemptuous of their national dignity... On the basis of the aforementioned, in order to avoid further straining of interfaith relations and the sociopolitical situation in Kiev and all the Ukraine, the Second All-Ukrainian Congress of Rukh demands that Ukrainian government leaders come to an agreement with the clergy of the Moscow Patriarchy that this Liturgy be moved to one of the 23 Kievan churches assigned for their use".

On the evening of October 27, an announcement arrived at the press center of the Congress from the office of Bishop Filaret, Exarch for the Ukraine, that the visit of Patriarch Aleksiy II to Kiev was being modified. But within a few minutes it became evident that this message was false. For this reason, on the morning of October 28, most of the delegates were outside the walls of St. Sofia.

At 13:00 a press conference was held, with the participation of chairman of the Ukrainian National Rukh Movement and people's deputy I. Drach, vice-chairman of the Kiev City Soviet of People's Deputies O. Mosiyuk, secretary of the Kiev City Soviet Cultural Commission K. Matviyenko, Ukrainian people's deputy V. Kryzhanivskyy and chairman of the Secretariat of Rukh and people's deputy M. Horyn.

I. Drach stated that the militiamen standing guard made nothing of the fact that the individuals before them were people's deputies - members of the republic's parliament; he described how these protectors of law and order rudely shoved and insulted Serhiy Holovatyy; how they pulled Mykhaylo Horyn and Oles Shevchenko, who had prostrated themselves underneath the vehicle so the holy priests of the Russian Orthodox Church could not pass, by their hands and feet; how they cursed Larysa Skoryk with the most vile words... With the assistance of Kiev's interior ministry chief General Nedryhaylo, the people's deputies were able to cross over to the grounds of St. Sofia, I. Drach continued. And there we saw the black vehicles pulling up, and the clergy getting out of them. The people's deputies stood and blocked another of the side entrances to the cathedral, but the militia led the clergy in through the "black door". Therefore, Patriarch Aleksiy II entered St. Sofia Sobor not through the central entrance, but through the "black door". This is thievery in full light of day, said I. Drach. And yet we saw, how not long ago tens of thousands of Kievans greeted Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church Patriarch Mstyslav! They carried him on their shoulders. Yet today, right before our eyes, Sofia is disgraced. They tried to violate our nation and our church earlier, and this violation continues. We will not forget, and will not forgive this, I. Drach emphasized.

According to K. Matviyenko, chairman, the Cultural Commission of the Kiev City Soviet sent a letter telling Valentina Achkasova, director of the Sofia preservation committee, that it considers conducting a liturgy in St. Sofia inadvisable. They explained their position. However, as we see, the religious service did occur. Officially, St. Sofia of Kiev is entrusted to the National Buildings of the Ukrainian SSR, and is therefore an all-Ukrainian structure, and decisions regarding services in it should be made by L. Kravchuk and V. Fokin. But an agreement had been reached that decisions would be referred to the Kiev City Soviet. When Metropolitan Mstyslav conducted his service, the scaffolding put up for restoration in progress was left in place. But for the meeting with Aleksiy II it was taken down. The fact that the priests of

the Russian Orthodox Church entered St. Sofia Cathedral (through the "black door", no less), said Matviyenko, was an outrage, a slap in the face to our national dignity. But the Russian Orthodox Church dishonored itself as well with this act. The visit of Patriarch Aleksiy II led to coercion, which caused suffering for the people's deputies - not just for their status, but the people also suffered physically, as did the people who were in the plaza of St. Sofia, K. Matviyenko indicated.

That which took place today reflects the real political situation in the Ukraine, particularly in Kiev, said the vice-chairman of the Kiev City Soviet of People's Deputies O. Mosiyuk. We warned Patriarch Aleksiy II of the impropriety of his visit. But the Russian Orthodox Church decided to provoke a confrontation. Of course, it is more interested in politics than in faith in God. On the eve of the event, the Kiev City Soviet required the militia to ensure safety and order and to do everything possible to prevent any incidents of violence. Unfortunately, the militia did not fulfill its duties. In the opinion of O. Mosiyuk, the reason for this is that the militia is under the authority of the government, and not answerable to city officials.

When we, the people's deputies of the Ukraine, said V. Kryzhanivskyy, attempted to enter the Sobor, the defenders would not let us pass. To this, Kiev's interior ministry chief General Nedryhaylo shrugged his shoulders, saying "they are not my subordinates". The above fact indicate just how much power the republic's Interior Ministry and the Kiev City Soviet have, when in reality outsiders rule within the city. The conduct of the militia with Ukrainian people's deputies S. Holovaty and M. Porovskyy was extremely brutal, said V. Kryzhanivskyy. They were pushed and shoved. Porovskyy was thrown completely over the fence. In answer to our comments, that we were, after all, members of the national parliament, the authorities, the defenders of law and order, stated: "They ordered us to do that..."

When Oles Shevchenko and I lay down before the vehicle bearing the Patriarch, said Mychaylo Horyn, continuing the narrative about events by St. Sofia Sobor, the defenders shoved us aside roughly... There were not many people around St. Sofia Sobor, and truly the solemn festivites with which the Russian Orthodox Patriarch should have entered another congregation's sacred place of worship did not take place. I believe the very fact that the events by the Sobor took place during the Second Congress of the Ukrainian National Rukh Movement, a scant week after the arrival of Metropolitan Mstyslav of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church are the best proof of the fact that this was not a religious, but purely a political act, that this was just one more attempt to maintain the empire, which is cracking at all its seams, that this is an attempt to throw a spiritual yoke onto the Ukraine, M. Horyn stated.

Following the press conference, the delegates of the Congress stood around the television monitors in the

foyer of the UKRAYINA Palace, watching the appearances by the people's deputies - participants and witnesses of the events at St. Sofia, as their speeches before the citizens of the republic were telecast live.

It was only after this that the Congress continued its consideration of the day's agenda. There will be more about the proceedings of the Second All-Ukrainian Congress (Meeting) of the Ukrainian Rukh Movement in our next issue. Today we are publishing the text of the speech given at the Convention by Ivan Drach, chairman of the Ukrainian Rukh Movement.

### Rukh Demonstration Against Patriarch Aleksiy Deplored

*91UN0301A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian  
7 Nov 90 p 3*

[Article by M. Derimov: "Dramatic Events at Kiev's St. Sophia Cathedral"]

[Text] This Film Should Not Be Concealed from the People....

The alarm bell and the howling of the Horde.... We have already told you about the events which took place on 27-28 October on Bogdan Khmelnitskiy Square in Kiev. But the items entitled "That is the Way They Observe Freedom of Conscience" and "Sacrilege" (see PRAVDA UKRAINY, 30 and 31 October) contain only data concerning these events which we had at our disposal by that time; and such information was far from complete. A few days ago the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs held a press conference at which journalists were presented with some extremely voluminous information. And, first of all, they showed a videotape which had been shot during that riotous Saturday and Sunday. It confirms a great deal of what we have already told you and, at the same time, reveals in all its ugliness the monstrous savagery of the violations committed at that time and place. And the leitmotif of this shocking video documentary can be specifically summed up only as follows: the alarm bell and the howling of the Horde.

While we were viewing this film, I switched on my tape recorder, and now I am listening again to the sound of the bell which greeted Aleksiy, the Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia. He had come to St. Sophia Cathedral with a document canonically granting independence to the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. I can hear how long it took before the howling response of the mob hindering the approach of the Orthodox believers to St. Sophia became quiet. And I can hear how, because of this howling, the festive bell-ringing began to sound like an alarm bell. One listens to all this—and the impression is created that by some miracle one has been transported 750 years back in time to that remote, long-ago year of 1240, when Baty's Horde was assaulting Kiev....

Yells, groans, and wailing. Somebody bawls "Go back to Moscow!" and "Betrayers, you sold us out!" A gray-haired priest begs: "Please let us through!" But a husky

fellow shouts at him: "You creep into politics and got unlucky!" Somebody cries out: "Kick them!" And there is a roar: "Go back to your own church!"

Resounding particularly distinctly against this background noise are the megaphone-amplified voices of the Rukh leaders. They include N. Kutsenko the USSR people's deputy from the Poltava region, as well as many deputies of this republic's Supreme Soviet, city- and rayon-level soviets from the Democratic Bloc.

When the police officials explain to the crowd that the Orthodox religious service will be conducted in St. Sophia Cathedral with the permission of the Ukrainian SSR government, someone among the newly elected deputies shouts categorically: "These decisions will be mowed down!"

Then a very commanding voice resounds as follows: "All deputies come here to me. We will go to the gate and we will not let anyone through." And this same voice threatens the police officials: "I can promise you that tomorrow you will be kicked out of the police service!"

One of the newly elected dictators addresses the Patriarch of All Russia and the Metropolitan of All the Ukraine as follows: "Holy Fathers, as a deputy of the Ukraine's Supreme Soviet I suggest that you cancel today's event." And another voice, well-known to many persons from radio broadcasts of the parliamentary sessions, menacingly warns: "Holy Fathers, there will be no service today...."

Certain deputies belonging to the Rukh movement ranged themselves alongside the walls of St. Sophia just as if they enjoyed complete power—legislative and executive, earthly and heavenly. And, meanwhile, their rank-and-file followers were beating up clergymen, monks, and nuns; they tore crosses and gonfalcons [church banners] from the weak hands of old men and women.

One segment of the film shows a woman in a black shawl. She is loudly excoriating the hypocritical piety of the young Rukh thugs: "We are Orthodox persons like our fathers and forefathers, but you have not gone to church nor will you go; you have not prayed, nor will you pray. All you are is politicians, and you are crucifying Christ again; you are crucifying Holy Russia." This woman calls out: "Protect us!" But there is no protection from the brute force....

The concluding scenes of this film show militants of the "Rukh Guard" marching along the street in the camouflage uniforms of "assault troops." They are the same deputies from the democratic bloc minority and delegates to the Second Rukh Congress, who have finished their work this day, as well as "mummers" dressed in Cossack "zhupans" [Cossack-type tunics] and wide trousers. Sounding forth is the song of the Sech streltsy [musketeers] with which certain troops marched off during World War I to fight for the Austro-Hungarian emperor against their own flesh-and-blood Ukrainians

and Russians. And then all the participants in this procession bawl out: "Down with the Muscovite priest!"

Just imagine, good people, what would happen if those genuine Zaporozhians (who, as history attests, were duty-bound to accept the blessings of the Orthodox clergy when proceeding forth to patriotic deeds) could see and hear these fake Zaporozhians reviling the Orthodox Patriarch. These glorious knights of the Zaporozhian Sech would spin in their graves!

No, if we indeed have glasnost here, this film should not be concealed from the Ukrainian people. It should be seen by Kievans; it should be seen by this republic's believing and non-believing citizens; it should be seen by those rank-and-file followers of Rukh who still believe that this is a democratic and progressive movement. Let them see it and figure things out for themselves.

#### ...Because the Guard Is Already on the March

To the question of whether this video film will be shown to the Ukrainian people, those who arranged the press conference from the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs replied, in effect, that they consider such showings to be necessary, but they do not have television at their disposal in this republic. And, meanwhile, these segments have been presented for thorough study to the parliamentary commissions which are investigating the circumstances of the events which took place in the square near Kiev's St. Sophia Cathedral.

A.I. Borovik and A.V. Voytsekhovskiy, representatives of the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] leadership, along with police officers V.I. Shaposhnik, P.F. Kravchenko, A.M. Kulikov, and S.G. Sipunov, who directly performed the work of maintaining order in the square, also replied to other questions from the journalists and provided a detailed, thorough analysis of the video tape which had been shown.

First and foremost, it was emphasized that the Orthodox religious service in the St. Sophia Cathedral and the religious procession by the clergymen and believers were conducted on a legal basis, with the permission of the republic-level government and that of the Kiev gorspolkom. The authorities gave this permission taking into account that St. Sophia Cathedral is included within the state preserves and does not belong to any one religious association; also that the mission on which Patriarch came to Kiev—the granting of independence to the Ukrainian Orthodox Church—corresponds to the spirit of the Declaration of the Ukraine's Sovereignty; and that a refusal to give this permission would be a manifestation of discrimination with regard to the UPTs [Ukrainian Orthodox Church] inasmuch as a similar permission was previously obtained by Mstislav, the Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church who arrived from the United States.

All those officials of the law-enforcement organs who spoke at the press conference emphasized that the Orthodox believers conducted themselves on the square

in accordance with the law. Unfortunately, this could not be said about those groups which hindered the Orthodox from satisfying their religious needs. But just who were these groups? Were they the believers of the Autocephalous Church? Many speakers noted that the majority of them were not religious but were just certain specific political groups. Appearing on the square were, if not all, then the overwhelming majority of the 2,000 delegates to the Rukh Congress which was taking place at that time. They deployed their lines of skirmishers and the Rukh guards, who had previously guarded the indoor area where the congress was taking place. Also arriving here were the traditional "assault troops" from the western oblasts; they had been bussed in from Lvov and Ternopol oblasts.

S.G. Sipunov described the situation as follows:

"There was a resounding, dirty, obscene abuse; they grabbed and hurled themselves against the police officers. All this was done not by believers, not by old people—these were persons who were precisely carrying out a task which had been assigned to them.... Pokrovskiy, Kutsenko, and the other Rukh deputies whom you saw in that segment kept on calling for illegal actions. Upon their command people sat down, got up, and shifted their positions. The Rukh Guard "operated" very actively. All this had been organized, and that is not such a simple matter."

A.M. Kulikov mentioned, in particular, how the deputy Khmara hurled himself on an Orthodox priest.

"That was a flagrant violation of a priestly office...."

"Deputies to the Supreme Soviet from the Democratic Bloc were supervising matters and conducting them at all the 'hot spots,'" V.I. Shaposhnik declared. "The actions taken by the police cannot be evaluated unambiguously. They cannot be termed good because they failed to achieve complete order. It was difficult, very difficult."

I inquired whether the law-enforcement organs knew about the facts of the beatings which had taken place on the square, in particular, those of nuns from the Florovskiy Convent and their Mother Superior, Antonia. These facts had been cited in a telegram sent by Metropolitan Filaret to the Presidium of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet and were published in our newspaper on 30 October.

The reply was laconic: an investigation was being conducted....

I also posed the following question: are there now in this republic illegal, armed units which come under the jurisdiction of the Ukase of the USSR President? And are there here, if not armed, then, in any case, militarized units with their own staffs and operational plans, with their own officers and subordinates, units which could be furnished with arms in the future?

A.I. Borovik replied as follows:

"We do not have at our disposal any data about the presence of organizations which would have firearms at their disposal. But you saw on the screen persons in the service of guarding Rukh. Judge for yourself...."

Well then, we must state what we saw with our own eyes: the Guard is already on the march.

#### Mother Superior, How Do You Feel?

This was the question which I directed to Mother Antonia when I telephoned her at her chambers in the Florovskiy Monastery. The Mother Superior replied that she already felt a bit better but that she still had to stay in bed and was not able to meet with me. Then I requested permission to visit the convent and talk with those nuns and novices who had taken part in the religious procession to St. Sophia. Such permission was granted to me and to the photo correspondent P. Prikhodko.

A youngish nun named Flora led us to the cell (it also doubled as a working office) of the nun-secretary Feodosia. In her past, secular life our fellow-conversationalist was a native of Kiev, a Ukrainian by nationality, and an engineer-designer by profession.

For starters I asked Mother Feodosia to tell us something about the convent and about the life of its cloistered inhabitants.

The convent, which was named in memory of the holy martyrs Flora and Laura, is mentioned in documents as far back as the 16th century. And over the extent of its entire lengthy history this cloister for women has been a bulwark of Orthodoxy. In 1924 the convent was closed down, and several of the nuns became victims of Stalinist repressions. During the years of Hitlerite occupation some of the nuns also had to suffer from fascist barbarity. After the war the cloister was reborn, but, as Mother Feodosia asserted, just a few years ago it suffered harassment by the police "because of registration." Such are the "Communist" and "Muscovite" underlings, as they were called by the Rukh militants on the square!

The national composition is not taken into account in the convent because, as everyone knows, it does not matter to God whether a person is a Greek or a Jew. Nevertheless, it is an indisputable fact that the overwhelming majority of nuns and novices here are certainly not "Muscovites," but are rather of pure-blooded Ukrainian descent.

The life of women who have dedicated themselves to Christ is scarcely a festive or idle one. They are already up and on their feet at 0430 hours: participating in the midnight service. At 0700 they celebrate the morning service and the liturgy, and at 1630—the evening service. Sisters sing in the choir, clean the church, work in the sewing workshop, and skillfully restore icons. Some 40 percent of the nuns and novices are old women incapable

of working, and they must be looked after. Thus, there are many tasks suitable to God's service. The following fact is also noteworthy: over the extent of several years the Florovskiy Convent has contributed 25,000 rubles annually to the Peace Fund.

It is not acceptable to take photographs here: it is a delicate matter. But the Mother Superior did give permission for the sisters to be photographed for PRAVDA UKRAINY so that people could see what weak and defenseless women the Rukh extremists had raised their hands against.

On the day when the secular authorities granted permission for a festive religious service—on 28 October—a difficult experience befell the lot of these widows who have found consolation in God and these virgins who have renounced the world in the name of their faith.

"Our nuns," said Mother Feodosia, "had never heard such vile words with which they were insulted on the square. They shouted at our nuns: 'Betrayers of Christ! Judases!' But their reviling and abuse was turned against themselves. We asked a certain policeman: 'Why do they not let us into the cathedral?' And he replied: 'It is democracy that is not letting you pass.' And so is that what democracy is?!"

The nun Feodosia was carrying a large cross in the procession. Some hooligan shouted to his likeminded fellows: "Cover me!"—and he kicked Feodosia in the stomach while trying to tear the cross from her hands. Then someone in the mob of frenzied thugs shouted out the following command: "Boys, let them pass through!" Priests, nuns, and believers from the convent church passed over a certain distance through a narrow corridor made up of persons breathing hatred—and then they encountered a line of young toughs from the Rukh Guard. New insults and blows were showered upon them....

Thus the elementary civil and human rights of these peace-loving and essentially defenseless believers were flouted and trampled into the dust.

A certain man ran up to Mother Superior Antonia, an elderly and ill woman. He shouted: "Communist..." (adding an unprintable word), and he tore the cross from her breast. The Mother Superior bent down to retrieve her cross—and she received a blow to the head. She lost consciousness. When they brought her back to the convent, she began to vomit and to experience severe headaches. A physician was summoned from the polyclinic, and he diagnosed it as concussion of the brain.

#### Just Who Is Responsible for All This?

As they said goodbye to us, the nun-secretary Feodosia, the nun-treasurer Dosifeya, as well as the other nuns and novices requested that we emphasize in the present article that they had been taking part in a religious procession to St. Sophia hardly for the purpose of "seizing" it, as the Rukh people slanderously claimed, but merely in order to mark, in prayer with Patriarch Aleksiy and Metropolitan Filaret, the festive occasion of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church's finding its independence. It was not they but the "intellectuals" from Rukh and the "Democratic Bloc" who lost their human nature and shouted "St. Sophia is ours!" They also shouted that way about the Cathedral of Yaroslav the Wise and the shrine of all three East Slavic peoples. Is it not clear who is responsible for what happened?

And there is yet another fact to ponder in speaking about responsibility—moral and otherwise.

On Saturday, 27 October, on the eve of the events we have described on Bogdan Khmelnitskiy Square, the newspaper VECHERNYY KIEV published an interview with Mstislav, the "Patriarch" of the Autocephalous Church. The newspaper correspondent deemed it possible to ask him the following question: "Will Kiev's St. Sophia be transferred or handed over to your church?" Mstislav replied: I myself have posed this question.... Prior to this I had found out that the Moscow Patriarch intended to celebrate a service within a few days at St. Sophia. And so I said that he had not asked my permission to do this."

And so a foreign official of the UAPTs [Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church], who is not even a citizen of our country, already considers himself to be the "master" or "owner" of St. Sophia, a person who can give "permission" to have access to it. And, inasmuch as those persons who behaved in such a disorderly manner on the following day in Bogdan Khmelnitskiy Square had read in VECHERNIY KIEV his words concerning "permission" and the panegyric to his "incarceration" in Gestapo prisons, but had not read in the Rovno Oblast newspaper CHERVONIY PAPOR (24 October 1990) and in the publication of Ukrainian anti-fascists BUKHENVALDSKIY NABAT (No 4) about this "Patriarch's" true Nazi past, it is not surprising that they shouted "St. Sophia is ours!"

In our opinion, the question of who provoked the outrageous events in the square does not require any further investigation or study.